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JOHN GRAY WESTMORELAND [1816 - 1887]

THE
EMORY UNIVERSITY
QUARTERLY

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A Christmas Meditation

By J. EMMETT HERNDON

J. Emmett Herndon, A.B. (University of Florida) '49, B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary) '52, is Presbyterian University Pastor on the Emory campus.

"I HATE CHRISTMAS." This was the remark a sales clerk made as people pushed and crowded around her small counter in a department store.

"I hate Christmas" was the remark of a bus driver as a rider deposited his money, elbowing his way to a seat ahead of a tired old lady and a small child.

"I hate Christmas" were the words spoken by a lonely widow who knew her son serving overseas would not be with her this year.

"I hate Christmas" was the brusque reaction of the businessman invited to the annual Christmas party, knowing that it would be nothing more than a drunken brawl.

Is this remark sacrilegious? Perhaps, and yet at the same time does it not express the authentic doubt of these persons as to the real meaning of this religious season? Is this not a word of protest spoken to each of us in the confusion of our times? Even though our immediate reaction has to do with the sales clerk, the

bus driver, the widow, or the businessman, is it not disturbing because of what it says to you and me? Does this not reduce the meaning we express during this season to the absurd? If so, why do we celebrate the birthday of Jesus Christ anyway, and what should it mean?

If we read Matthew's account, often called the Gospel of Rejection, we find these facts. Prior to Jesus' birth, Mary was in danger of being repudiated by Joseph. At His birth the immediate joy was colored by the anguish of the wholesale slaughter of little children as Herod sought to take Jesus' life. Even in Bethlehem he was rejected. The flight into Egypt and His almost complete hiddenness for thirty years also reflects this. The message of the prophets failed to help, as the people conceived of the earthly king as one who would relieve them of the burdens of this life and bring an earthly kingdom of peace and joy.

Rejected? Yes, because He was misunderstood by some and only too well understood by others. Rejected by those who thought the Messiah would bring relief from the oppression, punishment, and mistreatment of the day. Rejected by those who counted the cost of acceptance to be unreasonable. And the tragedy is that time has not greatly changed this reaction.

What then does this event mean for us living in the second half of this twentieth century?

Theologians generally agree that this event may be interpreted to mean a new beginning for life, Jesus as the "Second Adam." This goes beyond the realm of the abstract and speaks to man in his concrete situation. It therefore becomes more than just an event in time but offers a message that is relevant at all times.

But how do we ordinarily interpret this story of Christmas? We may accept the historical account but completely miss the basic relevancy and message for our time. We may be exposed to the message but at the same time be indifferent to appropriate it into a vital relationship in the life we live. We may be hostile in varying degrees, being fearful that an admission of its claims could result in personal loss. Or it may symbolize to us the truth for which men search.

Most often we associate Christmas with the birth of the child Jesus. But we err if we leave Him in the manger and do not carry forward our thoughts to the man into whom the child grew. In isolating the picture of His infancy, we find a certain pleasant satisfaction which may help us to escape from the realities and implications of His manhood.

Simeon's prophecy was fulfilled in that Jesus did grow up into manhood with a spiritual mission which was not to send peace but a sword. To Israel and all people He would bring judgment by which some men would fall and others would rise: "This child is destined to make many fall and many rise in Israel and to set up a standard which many will attack — for He will expose the secret of many hearts."

The offensiveness of the Gospel was made apparent from the beginning. For even some of the best people of that day Jesus was intolerable. They rejected Him, because he offended their prejudices, challenged their conventions, and blasted their respectability. And perhaps He was most offensive in that he was always ignoring the best people and championing the common crowd.

If Jesus' birth was simply the joyous birth of another child unrelated to life as men lived it, it could have been perfectly acceptable. But the birth of Jesus Christ was another matter. This same Jesus as a man antagonized many who chose to defend certain principles and acts. Which is to say that we dare not stop with the sentiment of Christmas. We must candidly ask these questions: Are we glad or sorry that one Jesus Christ came into the world? Do we really *love* Christmas or do we really *hate* its implications?

We celebrate the birth of a child but also the entering into history of One who forces us to decisions which may seem impossible and impractical. His demands challenge us to reëvaluate life and to renounce some of the things we cherish most. To accept or even face the implications of Christ was difficult and continues to be for those seriously concerned.

The confusion is nothing new. Just consider the man who asked:

> Lord, when did we see *you* hungry and give you food?
> When did we see *you* thirsty and give you something to drink?

> When did we see *you* lonely and make you welcome, or see *you* naked and clothe you, or see *you* ill or in prison and go to see you?

Jesus' reply was this:

> I assure you that whatever you did for the humblest of my brothers you did for me. . . . Whatever you failed to do to the humblest of my brothers you failed to do to me.

Times have not greatly changed. For some it will be a period of joy and happiness, but for many who will go beyond the manger, there will be found the offensiveness of the Gospel and, perhaps the rejection of it.

Carlyle, Browning, and the Nature of a Poet

By CHARLES RICHARD SANDERS

Charles Richard Sanders, Professor of English, Duke University, is closely engaged in preparing an edition of the voluminous correspondence of Thomas Carlyle. He spent the past summer in Great Britain working on the project, which will require several years to complete. Meanwhile readers of the QUARTERLY *are given an account of the great Scotsman's relations with a famous contemporary.*

THE MEETING OF CARLYLE AND BROWNING took place at Leigh Hunt's in early 1840. The friendship began several months later, in May, when Carlyle was giving his lectures on "Heroes and Hero-Worship." Years later Browning told William Allingham about attending these lectures and the beginning of his friendship with Carlyle:

> When he lectured, I subscribed and went, and coming out one day he spoke to me, "How do you do, Mr. Browning?" I said I had hardly thought he would recollect me. "O yes, I recollect you very well — will you come and see me? I live down in Chelsea."
>
> I did call, and he told me afterwards that he had on that occasion conceived an unfavorable opinion of me, because I wore (what was usual then) a green riding coat of cut-away shape. If he had seen me no more I might have figured in his diary as a kind of sporting man in aspect. He was always thoroughly kind to me.

Carlyle's kindness in these early days even went so far to to assume the form of a favorable comment on Browning's *Sordello.* In a letter to Miss Euphrasia Fanny Haworth, Browning rejoiced: "Nearly everyone else finds fault with *Sordello,* but Carlyle has a word of praise for it: . . . but I won't tell you what Milnes told me Carlyle told him the other day." No doubt Carlyle's praise of *Sordello* was somewhat qualified. About April 1814, Jane Welsh Carlyle, with her quick perceptions, her head full of common

sense, and with one of the tartest tongues in Christendom, wrote to her husband, who was then in Scotland: "There is come for you today from Mr. Browning something between a poem and Legitimate dramar [*sic*] entitled 'Bells and Pomegrantes No. 1 Pippa Passes.' God only knows what such names can mean." She had earlier attempted to read *Sordello,* without being able to tell, she said, whether Sordello was a man, a city, or a book. Her relation to Browning would never be a happy one.

Carlyle returned to Chelsea in May, looked into *Pippa Passes,* thought about it and Browning's earlier work, and wrote him a letter containing praise, encouragement, and critical advice.

> Many months ago you were kind enough to send me *Sordello;* and now this day I have been looking into your *Pippa Passes,* for which I am also your debtor. If I have made no answer hitherto, it was surely not for want of interest in you, for want of estimation of you: both Pieces have given rise to many reflections in me, not without friendly hopes and anxieties in due measure. . . .
>
> Unless I very greatly mistake, judging from these two works, you seem to possess a rare spiritual gift, practical, pictorial, intellectual, by whatever name we may prefer calling it; to unfold which into articulate clearness is naturally the problem of all problems for you. This noble endowment, it seems to me farther, you are *not* at present on the best way for unfolding; — and if the world had loudly called itself content with these two Poems, my surmise is, the world could have rendered you no fataller disservice than that same! Believe me I speak with sincerity; and if I had not loved you well, I would not have spoken at all.
>
> A long battle, I could guess, lies before you, full of toil and pain, and all sorts of real *fighting:* a man attains to nothing here below without that. Is it not verily the highest prize you fight for? Fight on. . . . Victory, what I call victory, if well fought for, is sure to you.
>
> If your own choice happened to point that way, I for one should hail it as a good omen that your next work were written in prose! Not that I deny your poetic faculty; far, very far from that. But unless poetic faculty mean a higher-power of common understanding, I know not what it means. One

must first make a *true* intellectual representation of a thing, before any poetic interest that is true will supervene. All *cartoons* are geometrical withal; and cannot be made till we have fully learnt to make mere *diagrams* well. It is this that I mean by prose; — which hint of mine, most probably inapplicable at present, may perhaps at some future day come usefully to mind.

But enough of this: why have I written all this? Because I esteem yours no common case; and think such a man is not to be treated in the common way.

And so persist in God's name, as you best see and can. . . !

The shocking advice to write prose is here, but so is its rationale. A poet, Carlyle says, however gifted he may be, must get his feet on the ground. There is much here too suggesting the nature of Carlyle's influence on Browning. The emphasis on realism, courage, and fighting the good fight would certainly not be lost on him. But it would not prove easy for a poet with Robert Browning's mind to follow Carlyle's advice to be clear. Carlyle, we know, in his search for "veracity" and efforts to express it, had considerable difficulty following his own advice.

Browning certainly liked the letter and was grateful for it. Throughout the year 1841 the friendship flourished. Browning soon answered Carlyle's first letter in a note which was forwarded to Scotland, where Carlyle had gone in the meantime. This note I have not found. But on 29 July, 1841, Carlyle replied to it with further words of encouragement.

The spirit you profess is of the best and truest! perhaps one man only, yourself only, could do much more for you than I who can do nothing, but only say with all my heart, Good speed! Doubt it not at all, you will prosper exactly according to the *true* quantity of effort, — and I take it you already understand that among the "*true* quantities of effort" there are many, very many which the "public," reading or other, can simply know nothing of whatever, and must consider as falsities and idlenesses, if it did. But the everlasting Heart of Nature does know them, as I say; and will truly respond to them, if not today or tomorrow, then some day after tomorrow and for many and all coming days. Courage

Here again Carlyle sounds the note of courage, based upon faith in eternal justice. And distrust of public opinion soon becomes a strong bond between him and Browning.

In 1844 Elizabeth Barrett sent some of her poems to Carlyle. After reading a few of them, he gave her his usual advice to write prose. When she wrote back that she was an invalid who could do nothing except write poetry, Carlyle graciously yielded to her. Years later he gave this account of the matter to Moncure Conway:

> Miss Barrett sent me some of her verses in manuscript. I wrote back that I thought she could do better than write verses: I saw little usefulness in them. She wrote me then saying, "What can I do? Here I am held hopelessly on a sofa by spinal disease." I wrote taking back all I had said.

Miss Barrett's letter to Browning of 27 February, 1845, calls Carlyle "the greatest teacher of the age . . . who is also yours and mine." He is, she says, moreover a poet; and her explanation of the poetic function as he exercises it suggests Browning's admiration for his intense radicalism:

> He fills the office of a poet, does he not? — by analyzing humanity back into its elements, to the destruction of the conventions of the hour. That is — strictly speaking — the office of the poet, is it not? and he discharges it fully, and with a wider intelligibility perhaps as far as the contemporary period is concerned, than if he did forthwith "burst into song."

The next passage, from Browning's letter to Miss Barrett of 18 May, 1846, strongly suggests that Carlyle may have had at least a part in influencing Browning to deal with the past rather than the present in his poetry:

> Carlyle has turned and forged, reforged on his anvil that fact "that no age ever appeared heroic to itself" and so, worthy of reproduction in art by itself. . . . I thought after Carlyle's endeavors nobody could be ignorant of that, nobody was obliged to seek the proof of it out of his own experience. The cant is, that "an age of transition" is the melancholy thing to contemplate and delineate.

Browning seizes here on only half of Carlyle's principle, both of

which are illustrated by *Past and Present*. But it is a morbid, short-viewed, futile, Narcissus-like concern of an age exclusively with itself that Browning protests against.

The famous marriage of the Brownings took place on September 12, 1846, and their departure for Italy came soon after. Carlyle blessed the pair and corresponded with them. When Mrs. Browning first met him on a visit to London in the summer of 1851 she declared in a letter to a friend that he was "one of the great sights in England."

The next stage in the development of this friendship is highly felicitous, and the onlooker feels that events are rapidly mounting to a kind of climax, significant in more ways than one. The Ashburtons had invited Carlyle to visit them in Paris in late September 1851, when they were to arrive there from Switzerland. After some hesitancy Carlyle agreed to come and made plans to leave London on Wednesday, September 23. At Chapman's shop, on Tuesday, however, he learned that the Brownings were leaving for Paris soon and he decided to postpone his trip one day in order to travel with them. Everything proceeded according to plan. Carlyle wrote his wife from Paris:

> The Brownings were just dismounting at London Bridge when I arrived, half an hour ahead of time: we did all extremely well together (except that Browning was a little loudish and talked beyond need now and then); and certainly such company was a *treasure* compared with what one might have had; for Browning *couriered* in the most perfect style all the way to Paris, and I had not the least thing to do, but sit still and look about me: an immense advantage in my poor case! Our sea-voyage lasted nearly 8 hours, and did not finish till towards nine at night; very rough and blustery, everybody sick, *sick;* even I had to lie perfectly flat, and endure the spray and wet occasionalities, under pain of getting queasy. Then came the Custom-house passports, etc.

Browning was among the sea-sick and, Carlyle said, "lay in one of the bench-tents horizontal." Once in port, however, he sprang to life and, as Carlyle has said, managed everything. Their hotel at Dieppe was second-rate but quiet. Before going to bed, about

ten-thirty, Carlyle took a night walk, as he liked to do in London: "Walked through some streets with my cigar: high gaunt stone streets with little light but the uncertain moon's; sunk now in the profoundest sleep — at half-past ten." That night he slept much better than usual. Next morning he and Browning took a walk while waiting for the train to Paris. It was a windy walk toward the sea, with "sheer chalk cliffs some mile or two off." There was nothing along their way that these two were not curious about: an inscription at an old house honoring someone who had saved many persons from the sea, an old fisherman who told them the meaning of the inscription, an "immense flaring crucifix aloft near the end of this quay," numerous sentries in red trousers, and "a country ship, with fresh fish." Back at the hotel, Browning attended to last-minute details of business, while Carlyle "sat out of doors on some logs at my ease, and smoked, looking over the population and their ways." In the noisy confusion at the railway station, "Browning fought for us, and we — that is, the women, the child, and I — had only to wait and be silent." Dowden humorously observes that Carlyle got along very well even with little Pen Browning, although the child had not yet learned the meaning of the Everlasting No, but that on one occasion he did exclaim to Pen: "Why, sir, you have as many aspirations as Napoleon!" Browning continued to fight for them until baggage had been cleared and French money had been supplied at the Paris railway station. Carlyle was soon safely bestowed in his room with the Ashburtons on Rue de Rivoli.

In Paris, despite the cordial hospitality of the Ashburtons and of Lady Ashburton's mother Lady Sandwich, he found much that he disapproved. French manners, in particular, disgusted him, with "their wretched mockeries about marriage, their canine libertinage and soulless grinning over all that is beautiful and pious in human relations." As he strolled about, exploring the city in his customary way, the long, straight Rue de Rivoli made him long for the crooked streets of London: "Streets straight as a *line* have long ceased to seem the beautifullest to me." And he was struck by the "dirt, litter of dust, fallen leaves or whatever there may be" which he found in all public places. And the people whom he saw, some of

whom he met and talked with, he scarcely liked better: the famous soldier Changarnier, whose "small hook nose, long upper lip (all shaved), corners of which and mouth generally, and indeed face generally, express obstinacy, sulkiness, and silent long-continued labor and chagrin;" Thiers, whom he had seen before in London, "a little brisk man towards sixty, with a round, white head, close-cropt and of solid business form and size; round fat body tapering like a ninepin into small fat feet, and ditto hands;" Mérimée, "a hard, logical, smooth but utterly barren man;" and Laborde, "Syrian traveller; a freer-going, jollier, but equally unproductive human soul."

But he found a haven of refuge with the Brownings in their quiet old inn. With them he took tea, had brisk talk in native English, and took a delightful carriage excursion out into the city. On the day before he left Paris he bought a collar and leash for Mrs. Carlyle's little dog Nero; and on Thursday, October 2, he returned to London. The Brownings remained in Paris. Carlyle, who had lost much sleep in Paris, spent several days drinking in "whole cataracts" of it. On 10 October, 1851, he wrote Browning: "Piccadilly and the Glass-Palace regions are still roaring with mad noise; but here, thank Heaven, is a forgotten corner, where the wearied soul can cover itself as under a Diogenes' tub, and contemplate with what of cynic piety is left the tumultuous delirium of the world."

In his reply Browning said:

> I have just done the little thing I told you of — a mere Preface to some new letters of Shelley; not admitting of much workmanship of any kind, if I had it to give. But I have put down a few thoughts that presented themselves — one or two, in respect of opinions of your own (I mean, that I was thinking of those opinions while I wrote). However, it be done, it is what I was "up to" just now, and will soon be off my mind. I shall always hope — for a great incentive — to write my best *directly to you* some day.

Unquestionably Carlyle and the Brownings had been drawn even closer together by the recent trip to Paris. Carlyle liked the essay on Shelley. Moreover, his reversal of the doctrine of silence in

Browning's case and his effort to spur him into action as a poet were to bring very definite results. The years 1851-1855 were highly productive for Browning, and the poems of *Men and Women,* many of which are among his best, were in the making. The healthy indolence natural to him was closely associated with tremendous energy which the provocation and stimulus of Carlyle helped to release. Browning's mind and imagination were now in a state of ferment; all sorts of ideas which had come to him through the years, including those which pertain to the poet's nature and function, were rising again to the surface, shaping themselves, and finding appropriate embodiment. On 8 March, 1852, Carlyle wrote to Browning:

> About a fortnight ago I received your Letter, and the little Shelley Book along with; a most pleasant pair of objects. . . .
>
> I liked the Essay extremely well indeed: a solid, well-wrought massive manful bit of discourse; and interesting to me, over and above, as the first bit of prose I had ever seen from you; — I hope only the first of very many. You do not know how cheering to me the authentic sound of a human voice is! I get so little except ape-voices; the whole universe filled with one wide tempestuous cackle, which has neither depth nor sense, nor any kind of truth or nobleness in it. . . . This essay of yours, and another little word by Emerson are the only things I have read with real pleasure for a great while past. I agree with what you say of Shelley's moralities and spiritual position: I honor and respect the weighty estimate you have formed of the Poetic Art; and I admire very much the grave expressiveness of Style (a little too elaborate here and there), and the dignified tone, in which you manage to deliver yourself on all that.
>
> The Letters themselves are very innocent and clear; and deserve printing, with such a name attached to them; but it is not they that I care for on the present occasion. In fact I am not sure but you would excommunicate me, — at least lay me under the "lesser sentence," for a time, — if I told you all I thought of Shelley! Weak in genius, weak in character (for these two always go together); a poor thin, spasmodic, hectic, shrill and pallid being. . . . The speech of such is never good for much. Poor Shelley; there is something void and Hades-like

in the whole inner world of him; his universe is all vacant azure, hung with a few frosty mournful if beautiful stars; the very voice of him (his style etc.) shrill, shrieky, to my ear has too much of the *ghost!* — In a word, it is not with Shelley, but with Shelley's Commentator that I take up my quarters at all: and to this latter I will say with emphasis, Give us some more of *your* writing, my friend; we decidedly need a man or two like you, if we could get them! Seriously, dear Browning, you must at last gird up your loins again; and give us a right stroke of work: — I do not wish to hurry you; far the contrary: but I remind you of what is expected; and say with what joy I for one will see it arrive. — Nor do I restrict you to Prose, in spite of all I have said and still say: Prose or Poetry, either of them you can master; and we will wait for you with welcome in whatever form your *Daimon* bids. Only see that *he* does bid it; and then go with your best speed; — and on the whole forgive, at any rate, these importunities, which I feel to partake much of the nature of impertinence, if you did not kindly interpret them.

A quick glance at some of the works which Browning wrote during this period reveals evidence of Carlyle's marked influence, much of it of a very significant kind. The essay on Shelley, finished in late 1851, in contrasting the subjective poet like Shelley with the objective poet, deals with many ideas which suggest Carlyle. The objective poet is a realist who writes "with an immediate reference, in every case, to the common eye and apprehension of his fellow men," but he also has "the poet's double faculty of seeing external objects more clearly, widely, and deeply, than is possible to the average mind," and of being able to remember the way the common mind grasps objects. He shows men whatever "in the inexhaustible variety of existence may have hitherto escaped their knowledge." All the bad poetry in the world is the result of "a want of correspondency" between the poet's work and "the verities of nature." "The misapprehensiveness of his age is exactly what a poet is sent to remedy." In great poetry "the whole being" is "moved by and suffused with a music at once of the soul and the sense." Browning's subjective poet also at times suggests Carlyle. He is "a seer." "What he produces will be less a work than an

effluence," an effluence which "cannot be easily considered in abstraction from his personality." "We cannot love it without loving him." It is no wonder that Carlyle, in spite of his antipathy for Shelley, liked this essay.

"Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," written, according to William C. DeVane, on January 2, 1852, has as its theme the admonition to effort and courage with the promise of sure victory, whatever the odds may be, which Carlyle iterated and reiterated in his letters to Browning and doubtless also in conversation. Hostile, fiendish inhuman voices close in upon Roland at the end and heighten his feeling of isolation, just as Exhibition noises, ape voices, and other raucous sounds had closed in upon Carlyle and made him thankful for the warmly human voices of Browning and Emerson. Furthermore, there could be no more finely imaginative expression of Teufelsdröckh's spirit in defying the "Everlasting No" which at all points had challenged and menaced his individuality and significance as a human being than this poem gives. The grotesque idiom, images, and treatment of landscape all have affinities with corresponding characteristics of Carlyle's writing at times. No poem could represent the essential Browning better; and no poem could express more adequately and powerfully the spirit of Thomas Carlyle.

"Transcendentalism: A Poem in Twelve Books," which DeVane assumes was written in the spring of 1853, is usually taken to be Browning's half-playful protest against both Boehme's abstruse mysticism and Carlyle's advice to poets to write prose. Shall the poet, Browning asks, put aside his harp and his magician's wand? Carlyle did, of course, advise poets to write prose, his age being what it was. But he disliked the abstruse and the insubstantial, as we have seen in his comments on Shelley, fully as much as Browning did, and his own mind teemed with images. As for the harp, it brings us face to face with the complicated question of what kind of music poetry should have. Carlyle, as we have seen, did not abruptly banish song from the kingdom of poetry. But what kind of song should it be? There are various facets to Browning's ideas about this question as about almost all questions. We perhaps

discover a useful hint when we turn briefly to "Saul," another important poem dealing with music, which was first published in 1845 but republished with an extremely important addition in 1855. The music of this poem, it will be remembered, ascends through three levels. First, there are the simple tunes which David plays upon the harp without singing. Second, there are songs, both played and sung, having to do with the pleasant activities of human life and the wild joys of living. Third, and this comes in the lines added for the 1855 version of the poem, there is the climax in which the mysteries of the Redemption and the Incarnation are prophetically and ecstatically announced immediately following stanza 16, an extremely emphatic stanza made up of just one line: "Then the truth came upon me. No harp more — no song more! Outbroke." The clear implication is that the only music fitting and adequate for the expression of such a message and such poetry was that of the indefinable sounds of fervid, dramatic, impassioned human speech.

In Browning's final arangement of the poems in *Men and Women* "Transcendentalism" comes first and "How It Strikes a Contemporary" second. The close conjunction of the two is no accident. They are companion poems, both dealing with conceptions having to do with poets and poetry, both being closely related to the essay on Shelley, and both having more than vague reference to the person and teaching of Thomas Carlyle. The poet of the harp and the magic wand in "Transcendentalism" is the subjective poet of the essay on Shelley. The poet of "How It Strikes a Contemporary" is the objective poet described in the same essay. Although Browning thought of Shelley as primarily a subjective poet, the second poem owes something to his belief that poets are the unacknowledged legislators of mankind. It also owes something to Béranger, a political-minded poet with simple habits, whom Browning had seen in Paris and who had taken hold of his imagination. But the poem is also in considerable part a portrait of Carlyle and of the side of Browning himself which owed most to Carlyle. The Brownings had agreed, it will be remembered, that Carlyle was a poet, "analyzing humanity back into its elements." Browning wrote the

poem in late December 1851, or in early 1852, soon after he had had abundant opportunity to observe Carlyle and at a time when his relation to Carlyle was extremely happy. The poet here is a realistic observer of human life who is a great walker of city streets. For the Valladolid of the poem one may read London, Dieppe, Paris. His habits and his clothes are seemly and simple. He scents the world, "looking it full in face," and is curious about even the minutiae of the world about him. His "scrutinizing hat" strongly suggests the broad-brimmed black one which Carlyle often wore (it appears in Ford Madox Brown's picture *Work*). He is interested in the coffee-roaster and the cobbler as they do their work. And he is interested in the quality of workmanship as he pokes the very mortar between the bricks with the ferrule of his stick. He never misses the significance of anything, but has his own very special sense of values (like Lazarus also in "Karshish"). He is keenly interested in politics and writes letters to the King which in ways that can never be fully known cause things to happen. He has great compassion for living creatures: if anyone beat a horse or cursed a woman, he takes note. (Browning once spoke to Sidney Colvin of Carlyle's consideration for the lower animals, insisted that he was "the most intensely, sensitively tender-hearted of men," and said that he had once been filled with angry indignation when he saw a butcher boy flog a horse. He refused to believe with Froude that Carlyle mistreated Mrs. Carlyle.) But the poet does not address himself to the people or seek to entertain them. He does not seek popularity. His letters like Milton's poetry are for the King, although the people may indirectly derive good from them. He is every inch an individual, altogether himself, so that he does not stare at you but you stare at him. And his face is striking:

> such a brow
> His eyes had to live under! clear as flint
> On either side the formidable nose
> Curved, cut, and colored like an eagle's claw.

He is a kind of Puritan, with his simple habits and black suit. There is certainly nothing to the rumor that twenty naked girls

change his plate at dinner! And there is not one word about dancing or music in the whole poem. The poet writes *letters,* which may have a conversational flavor and the tones of the speaking voice, just as Browning himself was doing in "Karshish" and "Cleon." Perhaps in this poem and in "Childe Roland" Browning was attempting to keep his promise to Carlyle "to write my best *directly to you* some day."

A Note on the Frontispiece

The portrait of John Gray Westmoreland, M.D., which hangs in the Emory University Hospital, was presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Julius L. deGive. It was painted by a kinswoman, Elizabeth Mathews, to replace the picture commissioned in 1857 which was reproduced in the June 1946 number of THE EMORY UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY. Dr. Westmoreland, founder of the Atlanta Medical College (1854-1898), among many services was Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, and held the position of Dean for almost twenty years.

Evening Stroll on Fifth Avenue

By SARAH WATSON EMERY

Her layette came from Best's, but his was made
To order by a seamstress sage and staid.
She drank boiled knowledge in Miss Little's Classes
And went abroad with several other lasses.

Too soon for him the *joie de vivre* of childhood
Was formalized. The coachman always stood
At the garden gate of school each day at three
And took him safely to his mother's knee.

They were wed in the spring of nineteen four;
Among those present was the governor.
There were no children — her breasts were dry —
She neither played nor sang a lullaby.

The thirties made them tremble, not that they
Would starve; they felt their trim world strain and sway.
Now they are old; they have been faithful, true.
Evenings she helps him down Fifth Avenue.

Sundays they go to church, one to either side;
It's good to go, whether from faith or pride.
Time was when summer called them to the shore;
Lately they shrink before the ocean's roar.

Set in shallow black dirt in the morning hours,
Replaced before they wilt, the hothouse flowers
In Rockefeller Center give them their view
Of nature as they pause along the Avenue.

Selling Freedom behind the Iron Curtain

By RICHARD F. STAAR

The following account of Radio Free Europe is presented by a former Chief of the Program Analysis Department in Munich, since 1959 Associate Professor of Political Science.

A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT of Western counter-propaganda is reaching the people under Soviet control by means of radio programs, especially those emanating from or sponsored by the United States. They are attempting to correct the distorted Communist picture of the outside world and the nature of our civilization. The basic objective of these broadcasts is to assist the 100 million captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their effort to regain their national independence and to establish free democratic systems. The attainment of these goals would mean the return of the satellite countries to the world community of free nations — and the subsequent strengthening of Western security.

The essence of propaganda in the struggle between the forces of tyranny and the democratic West was described by President Eisenhower as follows:

> The Communists have isolated their people to keep them from ever hearing the truth — to create a vacuum in their minds that will absorb lies because there is nothing else for them to seize upon. The only way to frustrate this evil manipulation of human minds and emotions is to supply the truth which gives the oppressed people a measuring stick against each lie that is told to them.

Through careful experimentation, it was learned that programs could most effectively support the cause of freedom if they were broadcast by exiles who had escaped from behind the Iron Curtain to carry on the battle against Communism. This practice is followed by all Western radio stations, like the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, RIAS (Radio in the American Sector, Berlin), and

Radio Liberty, as well as the British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Madrid, Radio Diffusion Français, and Radio Vatican, to name the better-known ones.

The people who write and broadcast Western programs are, therefore, exiles from behind the Iron Curtain chosen for their professional skill as newswriters, announcers, commentators, analysts, performers, editors, *etc.* There are also specialists on labor, agriculture, science, economics, education, and many other subjects. These exiles work very closely with the Americans who manage and supervise the entire operation. This partnership, I believe, has resulted in programs that deal realistically with life behind the Iron Curtain, and with the problems of those living under Communist oppression.

Programs broadcast to Eastern Europe cover a large range of subjects comparable to any first-rate American radio station. Ten minutes of late news every hour on the hour is the backbone of the programming schedule. In addition to news of America, and other free-world nations, facts are reported about events within the listeners' own countries and Soviet Russia — facts that the Communists suppress or distort.

Daily commentaries which follow the news programs help listeners to understand events and trends within their own countries in relation to developments elsewhere. There are also programs for special groups — for the youth, workers, intellectuals, farmers, women, and children. Religious programs are broadcast to listeners of all faiths. Cultural programs, music, drama, sports, entertainment, reviews of the Western press, and even on-the-spot coverage of major events throughout the world round out a program schedule which is designed to attract and hold the largest possible listenership.

At no time do Western radio programs recommend action, exhort or indulge in denunciations of wrongs which are already apparent to listeners suffering under Communist rule. The programs inform, they clarify, and they focus attention on facts that the people must know in order to calculate their actions wisely and — without bloodshed — to move ahead from their current positions toward the final goal which all of them overwhelmingly desire, that

is, full and durable freedom and democracy.

Let me now give you a specific illustration of how one of the Western radio stations operates, the one with which I was associated as an executive during the years 1958 and 1959. This organization has 29 powerful transmitters located at Holzkirchen and Biblis in West Germany as well as at La Gloria near Lisbon, Portugal. It is on the air almost 3,000 hours every week. The one medium-wave transmitter has 135,000 watts, whereas the other 28 are all short-wave transmitters. Programs are broadcast over several transmitters simultaneously to each target country, so that listeners in Eastern Europe can pick up a program on any one of several points on their radio dials. More than 90% of the programs penetrate the Communist jamming network on one or more frequencies in most areas of the captive countries.

The headquarters of this organization are located in New York City where some 15% of the programming originates. The other 85% of the programs is produced at the European studios in Munich, Germany, where I was located. A modern teletype service enables the New York and Munich offices to maintain instantaneous two-way communications. More than 7,000 news stories regarding American affairs are teletyped annually from the New York newsroom to Munich, in order to keep listeners behind the Iron Curtain abreast with the American scene.

A central newsroom in Munich serves as a compiler, a clearing house, and a distributor of news and information for broadcasts. It operates incidentally on a round-the-clock schedule, so that the people of Eastern Europe can be kept fully informed of all significant developments in every area of the world, including their own countries. Ten news bureaus are staffed by experienced newsmen, reporters, and interviewers, and they are located in the major European capitals — Berlin, Munich, Brussels, London, Paris, Geneva, Vienna, Stockholm, Athens, and Rome. Several hundred thousand words of information are broadcast every day in the large-scale attempt to break the Communist monopoly of news and information behind the Iron Curtain.

A vital part of this type of service is the vast monitoring opera-

tion which tunes in on more than 50 Communist radio stations and teletype services in the satellite countries, Soviet Russia, and Red China. Hundreds of Communist newspapers and other publications are also read by experts. Knowing exactly what the Communists are saying and writing makes it possible to expose Communist lies, hypocrisies, and false promises; and to tell listeners the facts of any situation — whether it be in their own country, in Tibet, Washington, Moscow, Algeria, Geneva, Lebanon, Havana, or anywhere in the world.

Although no official ratings of Western radio programs to the captive countries exist, there is indisputable evidence that these broadcasts are immensely popular behind the Iron Curtain. First of all, listeners themselves report on their reactions. Their opinions are expressed in letters, statements by escapees and travelers, reports of Western observers, and comments by the Communists themselves. Recently a large-scale audience analysis survey on listenership to Western broadcasts was completed, based on interviews with 760 refugees from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. These refugees had been selected as representative of the overall population. Nearly all of those interviewed had listened to Western broadcasts. I might add here that this survey was not conducted by any NATO country or even by Radio Free Europe itself; it was conducted by a private Austrian polling organization, and the questionnaire that was compiled did not ask about specific stations, but it listed all of the stations together, so that the respondent did not know actually who was behind this questionnaire, who was financing it, and what station was interested in obtaining his reactions. Furthermore, some three-quarters of the interviewees listened "regularly," *i.e.* more than twice a week. This survey reached several interesting conclusions, which confirmed previous studies made about Western broadcasts. For example, some 90% of the Poles interviewed, about 88% of the Hungarians, and 75% of the Czechs and Slovaks stated that most of their knowledge about the West came from Western radio stations.

The most valued type of Western program was straight news. People behind the Iron Curtain rely mostly on Western radio sta-

tions for reliable information. Another vital task of Western stations according to those interviewed is "to keep hope alive, and to aid in resisting Communism." Other highly-rated Western programs in the captive countries include commentary, political analysis, information about life in the West, educational, cultural, and scientific programs, music and entertainment. (Incidentally, the number of radio sets capable of receiving Western stations — that is, those that have short-wave bands on them — has increased substantially during the past decade. There are now well over nine million such receivers in the satellites, and their number is steadily increasing.)

What actual influence do Western broadcasts have in helping the captive people in their continuing search for freedom? The Communists themselves have acknowledged this impact. For example, the regime in Hungary issued an illustrated pamphlet entitled *This Is Radio Free Europe,* published in Budapest, from which I quote:

> The speedy and adroit information service of Radio Free Europe was often ahead of the Hungarian press and radio. For instance, Radio Free Europe brought the Polish internal situation to the Hungarian audience in an exceptionally restrained manner. It gave news on debates and articles and events which the Hungarian press had, alas, failed to mention. Even today, Radio Free Europe is a living caution to us; we must never allow the imperialists to inform our radio listeners more speedily and adroitly than we do.

Scores of cases show how information transmitted by Western radio stations compelled the Communists unwillingly to take steps that have benefited the people. A dramatic example of this is the case of Lt. Col. Jozef Swiatlo, a top secret police official in Poland, who defected to the West and came to the United States, where he was interviewed by both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. From its intensive questioning, the latter organization broadcast more than 100 programs in addition to 57 by the Voice of America, and in both cases the man's words were taped in the form of interviews. Now these 157 programs related in detail the corruption and brutality of the Polish secret police, top Communist officials, and their bosses in Moscow. These programs also exposed

the regime's actions and plans to destroy the Church behind the Iron Curtain.

Within two months after Swiatlo's first broadcast, the Polish regime, yielding to an angry public, dissolved its secret police organization officially (no doubt it still exists in camouflaged form), and it fired its three top officials. The programs forced the head of the Polish regime to make a long speech condemning the outrageous acts of the secret police. In his speech he used many of the facts — even some of the identical words (the speech was monitored) — that had been broadcast from the West.

Further evidence regarding the effectiveness of Western broadcasting is found in various Communist actions and reactions:

1. *Pressure through protest.* Ever since our counter-propaganda went on the air, the Communist regimes have been issuing protests. The Kremlin has often added its own voice to those of the satellite regimes in the effort to put us out of business. The Soviet bloc has also endeavored to use international organizations such as the United Nations in its campaigns to destroy us, as well as diplomatic pressure in countries where we maintain installations.

2. *Measures to discourage listenership.* The Communist regimes have devised many ways to discourage people from listening to foreign radio broadcasts, although listening to them is not technically outlawed; it is not a crime. They do this by attacking America and the West at mass meetings, by threatening people suspected of listening, by questioning children about their parents' activities, by assigning secret agents to spy on their neighbors, and by other means.

3. *Jamming.* Western programs are jammed by up to 2,500 Communist jamming transmitters. Transmitters, of course, may be used either for broadcasting or for jamming. So by using up to 2,500 transmitters, the Communists are removing these transmitters from broadcasting operations. Most of them are located within Soviet Russia. This vast jamming operation indicates how deeply the Kremlin and its puppet Communist regimes fear the effects of Western radio programs. It has been estimated that over 100 million dollars is spent annually for jamming, which is more than the

total outlay for operations of the Voice of America from this country.

4. *The propaganda campaign.* The Soviet Union, the satellite regimes, and the Communist press in the free world wage a ceaseless propaganda campaign against the West in an effort to discredit it. Under the Kremlin's supervision, Western radio stations are viciously attacked day and night by all Communist media: newspapers, radio stations, magazines, movies, books, pamphlets, cartoons, plays, and posters. Since 1954 — that is during the past six years — newspapers and radio stations in the satellite countries alone have attacked the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe specifically by name, over 13,000 separate times. This figure does not include attacks in Soviet media, such as *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Tass*, and Radio Moscow. Here is a thematic analysis of attacks by the Russians on the Voice of America:

> The Voice of America is a paid instrument and servant of Wall Street. It is the "voice of the dollar." It is intended to distract attention from the capitalist "bubble," which "is about to burst again." Furthermore, it is the voice of Nazi resurgence, and therefore really "the voice of Goebbels, Hitler and Goering." The traitors, fascists, and hirelings of Europe appear as its speakers. The Voice of America's tone and orientation derive from this origin. In everything it discusses, "one can feel the soul of the businessman." Its moral level is that of vulgarity, lies, cynicism, slander, hypocrisy. Because of its repulsive features, it is, of course, doomed to failure.

It is significant that nothing specific, nothing concrete, is mentioned in this attack.

The West's habit of "beating" the Communists on major news applies to events within the captive countries as well as in the free world. The advantages of a speedy news service are clear; it puts the Communists on the defensive, often forcing them to lie and distort after the true facts are known to the people; it continually builds up Western reliability; it develops bigger audiences, not only for newscasts but for all programming. Here are a few examples

of major newsbeats during the past few years:

1. *The Khrushchev Secret Speech:* Within one hour after verification of the text in which Khrushchev denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe had directed their most powerful transmitters on the Iron Curtain, and began to repeat the speech hour after hour for three and a half solid days. Khrushchev's words, which had been meant for a handful of the Communist elite, were hurled with such power at the captive countries that even a crystal set could pick them up, despite frantic Communist jamming.

2. *The Djilas and Pasternak Books:* The publication of *The New Class*, by Milovan Djilas, was greeted with totalitarian silence. And no wonder. This remarkable book by one of Yugoslavia's foremost Communists was a brilliantly documented denunciation of the Communist system. It was written in prison, where Djilas has been sentenced for deviating from regime dogmas, and miraculously smuggled out. The West smashed the Communist blackout on the Djilas book with a concentrated series of broadcasts to the five captive countries. Similar programs were broadcast in regard to *Doctor Zhivago*, by Boris Pasternak, who won the Nobel prize. The novel is still banned behind the Iron Curtain. I was able personally to receive a copy of this book in Russian. It had been published by the University of Michigan press and sent me to Munich. Through Western radio stations, the people of Eastern Europe are familiar not only today with the contents of *Doctor Zhivago*, which was serialized on the air, but with all the facts surrounding its ban by Soviet Russia.

3. *The Poznan Uprising:* The Polish workers in the city of Poznan rose up against their Communist rulers. Radio Free Europe instantly went into action on a 24-hour-a-day emergency basis. The news was first picked up at 9:00 p.m., and eight minutes later Radio Free Europe had a news bulletin on the air. Less than two hours later, detailed round-ups and commentaries on the uprising were being broadcast not only to Poland but to all the captive countries. The Poznan uprising proved to be of extraordinary significance, because it was the first major step in Poland's "bloodless revolution"

which led to the current Gomulka regime. Through its comprehensive news and information service the West helped the Polish people to see their problems in a realistic framework, thus assisting them to maintain their gains and to press for further gains within the realm of practical achievement. While helping its audiences to cope with the realities of the present, the West consistently points out beyond the current situation to the goal of ultimate freedom and democracy.

4. *The Romanian Penal Code:* Last summer the Romanian regime put into effect a Penal Code which decreed the death sentence retroactively for such offenses as embezzlement of public funds and advocating "neutrality." But the Romanian people were not informed by the government of these harsh new laws — the laws were not published —and therefore they had no way of knowing what actions might be criminal offenses, with penalties as severe as death. The West was fortunate enough to obtain the official text of the Romanian Penal Code, which it broadcast repeatedly to the Romanian people, together with advice from prominent lawyers-in-exile. The regime was then forced to admit the existence of its secret new laws, but not without a flood of vituperation against the Western radio stations for having forced its hand.

5. *Nixon's Visit to Poland:* Communist newspapers and radio stations gave the Polish people virtually no information about Vice-President Nixon's trip to Poland. However, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Europe transmitted all verifiable details on the subject: advance plans for Nixon's trip, his itinerary in Poland, even his exact route from the airport into the city, the spontaneous demonstrations greeting him later, the substance of his talks in Poland, as well as his activities and speeches in the Soviet Union preceding his Polish trip. Many Western reporters and other observers have attributed the cheering crowds of 250,000 people who turned out to welcome Nixon to the West's speedy and detailed information.

The Communist regime of Czechoslovakia made a remarkable admission over Radio Prague when a commentator stated recently: "The ideology of the capitalist world, spread by Western radio

stations, is a significant factor in the struggle between Capitalism and Socialism. Capitalism still has a strong ally in this field." The same broadcast accused Western radio stations in general of undermining the Czech and Slovak people's confidence in the "vanguard of Socialist construction, i.e. the Communist Party." How the rôle of Western broadcasts is keeping alive the process of intellectual and ideological ferment behind the Iron Curtain is evident from statements such as these.

In conclusion, a few words about the Hungarian Revolt. A freedom fighter told a reporter shortly after he had crossed the border into Austria: "The time of the Revolution was the greatest proof that Western Radio is indispensable to the Hungarian people. It was our voice. And one thing is a fact: The West did not instigate any useless armed resistance. The Hungarian people did it, in their bitterness, without being encouraged by anyone." Even Janos Kadar, whom the Kremlin installed as its puppet dictator in Hungary on the very day that Russian troops moved in to crush the freedom fighters, announced the following over Radio Budapest:

> We must all agree that the real reason for the People's Movement which started on October 23rd must be sought in the serious faults and crimes which had been committed in Hungary and which caused great damage to the working population of the country. We also have to know that the indignation of the crowds demonstrating against wrong deeds and methods was completely justified.

Looking for a scapegoat on whom to put the blame for the revolutionary events in Eastern Europe, the Communist world settled on Western radio broadcasts and accused them of every possible crime. Such attacks are, of course, the highest praise possible. They testify that Western radio has to a major extent already fulfilled its mission. That mission from the beginning had been to break the Communist monopoly of ideas in Eastern Europe by providing a medium through which the people could manifest their opposition in each country and through which they could voice their demands.

Hoax upon Hoax; or, Too Many Inventions for Ben

By MAX HALL

Max Hall, '32, is Editor of Publications, the Harvard University Center for International Affairs, and Social Science Editor, Harvard University Press. His recent amusing and illuminating study, Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker, *was reviewed in the Fall 1960 number of the* QUARTERLY.

HONORE DE BALZAC, in his novel *A Distinguished Provincial in Paris*, published in 1839, places a group of Parisian journalists in front of a fireplace, laughing, smoking, and discussing what to write for tomorrow. One of them warns against resorting to canards. "Canards?" repeats a new member of the group. A third man explains:

> "We use the word *canard* for a piece which has the appearance of truth but which is fabricated to spice up the news items when they are tame. The canard is a discovery of Franklin, who invented the lightning rod, the canard, and the republic. That journalist deceived the Encyclopaedists so well by his overseas canards that Raynal, in his *Philosophical History of the Indies*, gave two of them as authentic facts."

When asked to identify these two hoaxes by Benjamin Franklin, Balzac's journalist replies:

> "The story about the Englishman who sells his rescuer, a Negress, after having made her a mother in order to get more money out of the sale. Then the sublime courtroom plea of the young pregnant woman winning her case. When Franklin came to Paris, he admitted his canards in Necker's house, to the great confusion of the French philosophers. And that is how the New World twice corrupted the Old."[1]

During the 121 years since the publication of those scraps of dialogue, quite a few people must have read them and raised an

[1] Translated fairly literally from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Illusions Perdues*, vol. 2, "Un Grand Homme de Province à Paris," ed. Gaëtan Picon (Paris: Club du Meilleur Livre, 1958), p. 73.

eyebrow over Franklin's participation in such shenanigans. Some readers, having in mind Balzac's fervid imagination, may have wondered whether any such stories ever existed. If these readers had lived in the eighteenth century they would probably have had no doubts on that point, for the two stories in question were among the most popular in the literature of the time, reprinted, rewritten, and revived again and again on both sides of the English Channel, and also in America. But Balzac's journalist was not wholly correct about their origins — and as to that, most eighteenth-century readers were also in the dark.

Today it is not hard to separate the fact from the fiction in the passages quoted from Balzac's novel. For example, nearly everyone knows that Franklin did indeed invent the lightning rod. He also invented bifocal glasses, the "Franklin stove," a musical instrument called the armonica which had such a vogue that even Beethoven and Mozart composed for it, a long-handled instrument for removing a book from a high shelf, and other gadgets.

But Balzac's fictitious journalist of course exaggerated when he said Franklin invented the republic. It is true that Franklin's part in the winning of American independence was of great importance, but there were also others who played important parts. While the Revolution was still in progress, a romantic epigram concerning Franklin became popular in France, as follows: *Eripuit caelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis* ("He snatched the lightning from the sky and the scepter from tyrants"). Franklin said accurately that this epigram "ascribes too much to me, especially in what relates to the Tyrant; the Revolution having been the work of many able and brave Men.[2]

Nor did the great man invent the canard, or hoax. Fakery in the English press was common enough to lend point to Joseph Addison's satirical assertion in 1709, when Franklin was just three years old, that the case of the news writers "is, I think, more hard than that of the Soldiers, considering that they have taken more Towns, and fought more Battles." He recalled an earlier period when

[2]Franklin to Felix Nogaret, March 8, 1781, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-1907), VIII, 215.

there was a great rash of newspaper stories about whales in the Thames, comets, fires, earthquakes, plagues, and famines. "In every Dearth of News, Grand Cairo was sure to be unpeopled."[3]

Nevertheless, if we overlook the technicality that Franklin did not get there first, we can give Balzac an A for Accuracy in identifying Franklin with the canard. Franklin, America's first notable humorist, was one of the old masters of journalistic hoaxing. Over an immense span of years, from his teens until just before his death in 1790 at the age of 84, he produced from time to time little pieces that were not what they represented themselves to be. He used these deceptions for a variety of purposes: to amuse himself and others, to ridicule intolerance and superstition, to build the circulation of his publications, to propagandize in favor of America.[4]

This brings us back around to the two yarns mentioned in Balzac's novel. Were they among the many hoaxes which Franklin engineered during his tremendous lifetime?

One of them certainly was. The words, "Then the sublime courtroom plea of the pregnant young woman winning her case,"[5] unmistakably refer to "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker," one of Franklin's light-hearted hoaxes that made a big noise on two continents. Erupting in the British press in 1747, the speech purported to have been delivered by a New England woman on trial for having her fifth bastard child. Her plea seemed so reasonable that the court dispensed with her punishment and one of her judges married her the next day. Thirty-eight publications of Polly's speech in the eighteenth century have been found.[6] As Balzac's journalist says, the speech was reprinted as authentic by the Abbé Guillaume-

[3] W. G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston, 1907), p. 31, quoting from Addison in *Tatler* No. 18, May 21, 1709. Bleyer discusses the early faking of news on pp. 28-37, 42.

[4] A list of ten especially notable Franklin hoaxes, with citations, is in the author's *Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker,* published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 91-93.

[5] *"Puis le plaidoyer sublime de la jeune fille grosse gagnant sa cause."* Actually the press, in printing Polly's speech, did not say she was with child at the time, but she had been earlier.—five times.

[6] *Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker,* just cited; see Bibliography, pp. 168-173. The earliest known printing of the speech is in the *General Advertiser* (London), April 15, 1747.

Thomas Raynal, a popular but not very accurate French historian.[7] For this, Raynal was ridiculed by Voltaire, Jefferson, and other debunkers who proclaimed that Franklin was the originator. It is not known whether Franklin confessed authorship of the speech in the house of Jacques Necker, a French government official, but he could have done so; he certainly confessed it in other houses at Paris.

Now there remains only the identification of the other canard by which Franklin is said to have fooled Raynal, the one described as "the story about the Englishman who sells his rescuer, a Negress, after having made her a mother in order to get more money out of the sale."[8]

First of all, the Abbé Raynal did indeed print an anecdote about an Englishman who sold his rescuer into slavery, and this clearly was the story Balzac had in mind, though the woman in the case was an Indian, not a Negress. When Raynal printed it, Voltaire criticized him for accepting as true an imaginary tale — not by Franklin this time, but by Richard Steele. But this time Voltaire was almost as wrong as Balzac.

The facts are as follows:

In 1657, long before Franklin was born, an Englishman named Richard Ligon published a book entitled *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*. This island was, and is, a British colony in the West Indies. Ligon had been there himself from 1647 to 1650, and his account was graphic and informative. Among other things he told about the Negro and Indian slaves. One slave in the house where he lived was an Indian woman named Yarico, who was "of excellent shape and colour," and "would not be woo'd by any means to weare Cloaths."

Ligon devoted one long paragraph to an explanation of how this woman had become a slave. It seems that she had formerly lived on the South American mainland. One day an English ship put

[7] *Histoire Philosophique et Politique, Des Etablissements & du Commerce des Européns dans les Deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1770), VI, 257-262, and many subsequent editions.

[8] *"L'histoire relative à l'Anglais qui vend sa libératrice, une négresse, après l'avoir rendue mère afin d'en tirer plus d'argent."*

ashore a party to look for provisions. The Indians intercepted the party, captured some and killed others. One young man who had straggled from the rest was met by Yarico, who fell in love with him, hid him in a cave, and there fed him until they could go down to the sea, where the English ship was still anchored. They were taken to Barbados. "But the youth, when he came ashoar . . .forgot the kindnesse of the poor maid, that had ventured her life for his safety, and sold her for a slave, who was as free born as he: And so poor *Yarico* for her love, lost her liberty."[9]

We have only Ligon's word for this touching story. But at least his book as a whole gives a strong impression of a truthful and careful man. The book had another edition in 1673; and a French translation of the first edition was published at Paris in 1674.[10]

On March 13, 1711, when Franklin was five years old, Richard Steele made Ligon's Indian tale famous by using it, with elaborations, in No. 11 of *The Spectator*. He cited Ligon as the source of the anecdote, but he quadrupled the length of it, added spicy details concerning the two lovers in their first hideaway, gave the cruel Englishman the name Thomas Inkle, and applied the following twist to the conclusion:

> Upon which Considerations, the prudent and frugal young Man sold *Yarico* to a *Barbadian* Merchant; notwithstanding that the poor Girl, to incline him to commiserate her Condition, told him that she was with Child by him: But he only made use of that Information, to rise in his Demands upon the Purchaser.

After that, the story of Inkle and Yarico became a legend. Lawrence Marsden Price in his excellent *Inkle and Yarico Album* has pursued the ungrateful tradesman and the noble Indian through the literature of England, France, and Germany. He collected forty-five different versions, beginning with Steele's. In English there were thirteen poems, not generally very good, in some of

[9] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), pp. 54-55, examined in New York Public Library.

[10] The New York Public Library also has copies of these 1673 and 1674 editions. The French translation constitutes the opening selection of a large volume entitled *Recueil de Divers Voyages Faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique.*

which Yarico was described as a Negro; and there were two dramas, one a ranting tragedy, *Incle and Yarico* (1742), by a Mr. or Mrs. Weddell, whose first name seems to have been obliterated by time, and the other a successful comic opera, *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), by George Colman, Jr. There were eight works of French origin, including Sebastian-Roch-Nicolas Chamfort's popular comedy *La Jeune Indienne* (1764), in which the couple are called Belton and Betti, and a two-volume novel by Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, entitled *La Tribu indienne* (1799), in which they are called Edouard and Stellina. In Germany there were twenty-one variations on the theme, including sixteen dramas and ballets. Goethe, at age seventeen (1766), began work on a play about Inkle and Yarico but did not carry it through. All this is related in Price's book.[11]

It was in 1770 that Raynal first brought out his multivolumed masterpiece, *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, containing the Yarico story, the Polly Baker speech, and innumerable other episodes having to do with European settlements in various parts of the globe. By that time about twenty versions of Yarico's misfortune had already been published. A 1774 edition of Raynal's best-seller contained a bosomy picture of the poor Indian maid being sold by the cruel Englishman, and a 1780 edition contained an even more bosomy picture of the same event.[12]

The appearance of the anecdote in the *Histoire* brought Voltaire's scornful blast on the ground that the author had related in a serious manner a little story invented by Steele. Voltaire summarized Steele's version, and repeated the part in which Yarico tells Inkle she is with child. This very passage should have flashed a warning light for Voltaire, because Raynal had said nothing about Yarico's pregnancy — an omission that would have been difficult to explain if Raynal had indeed found the anecdote in the *Spectator*.

[11] Lawrence Marsden Price, *Inkle and Yarico Album* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), *passim*. See his index and bibliography for particular works and authors.

[12] [G. T. Raynal], *Histoire Philosophique et Politique* (Amsterdam, 1770), V, 197-198. Frontispieces are in editions of La Hale, 1774, vol. V, and Genève, 1780, vol. III, examined in Harvard College Library. Editions of the *Histoire* seem countless, and more than one can be found for a single year and place of publication.

But Voltaire took it for granted that Steele was the source.[13] And later, so did others.[14] Voltaire gave no weight to the fact that Steele credited the story to Ligon. He may have thought that Steele invented Ligon along with the rest of the account. If he had tracked down Ligon's old book, he would have seen that Raynal did not take the story from Steele at all.

Like Ligon, Raynal gave the Indian maid's name as Yarico, but he did not mention the name Inkle, which had been supplied by Steele. Nor did Raynal relate that the Englishman was twenty years old; that he was agreeable in person, with ringlets of fair hair; that his father had taken particular care to instill into his mind an early love of gain; and that he sailed from England on the good ship *Achilles* on the 16th of June, 1647 — all of which information had been added by Steele. Raynal, who was not a man to shy away from purveying sensation, did not breathe a word of Steele's sensational details of how the "Naked American" and the handsome European lived tenderly together for several months. In brief, Raynal included none of the entertaining fictions that distinguished Steele's account from Ligon's. On the other hand, Raynal's brief version followed Ligon's rather closely. True, he embellished the tale a little, fore and aft, but the embellishments were apparently his own.[15]

Raynal ended his account thus: "To vindicate the honor of the English nation, one of her poets has recorded this shocking instance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by posterity: It has been told in several languages, and held out to the detestation of all foreign nations."[16] Voltaire may have believed that Steele was the "poet"

[13] Voltaire's "exposé" apparently came out first in 1774: see Anatole Feugère, *Un Précurseur de la Révolution, L'Abbé Raynal* (Angoulême, 1922), p. 219n. Voltaire's attack now may be found in his *Philosophical Dictionary* in any edition of his complete works, under the heading "Ana, Anecdotes" or simply "Anecdotes."

[14] They included John Morley, *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists* (edition of London, 1923), II, 213: Feugère, just cited, p. 217; and J. V. Johansson, *Etudes sur Denis Diderot* (Göteborg et Paris, 1927), p. 180.

[15] Based on my comparisons of Ligon's, Steele's, and Raynal's texts. Price, p. 61, long ago concluded that Raynal's account was based on Ligon and not on Steele, and my own work supports the finding.

[16] *A Philosophical and Political History*, "Translated from the French of the Abbé Raynal, by J. Justamond, M.A." (London, 1777), IV, 317.

referred to by Raynal, but there is no special reason for us to think he was, in view of the fact that at least six English works in verse had been ground out on this subject by the time Raynal published Ligon's account.

As for Honoré de Balzac, he was wrong that the woman was a Negress, wrong that Raynal's story was a canard, and wrong that Benjamin Franklin wrote it.

Unknown Axiom

By JEANNE OSBORNE GIBBS

"What makes wind tickle trees until they laugh?
How does the moon get stuck to the sky at night?"
Eyes wait to telegraph
To a thistle mind poised for instant flight.
I pillage smocked old pages, seeking balm
For his uneasiness and mine, recall
Some facts on air velocity and calm,
Explain how Newton saw the apple fall.
But zeal, like a hummingbird,
Has darted from a flower found not so sweet;
His face is grave; he says, "But why?" No word
Comes from me, thoughtful in defeat.
His squirrel-quick feet move slowly out the door
He shuts behind;
My thought, scoured dull, returns to some small chore
As muscle pulleys grind —
Simple questions — these — so simple that
Descartes and Locke and every man who bore
A gray quicksand within his mind has sat
Through copper nights, then turned and shut the door.

A Time to Speak Out

By LOUIS M. ORR

Louis M. Orr, B.S. '22, M.D. '24, D.Sc. '60, President of the American Medical Association, 1959-60, is an internationally known urologist practicing in Orlando, Florida. Dr. Orr was Emory's Commencement speaker in June 1960.

IN THE YEARS since I was graduated from Emory I have seen a great deal of life and of the world. As a physician I have been closer to life's mysteries, miracles, wonders, and tragedies than most men. When my medical colleagues named me to the position of President of the American Medical Association, my official responsibilities took me from one end of America to the other, and to all parts of the globe.

One thing has become increasingly clear to me. It is important to medicine but even more important to this nation. I have come to the conclusion that the time for compromises, soft answers, and sidestepping of major issues is past. It is time we Americans speak out for the points of view and beliefs we hold.

The process of education presupposes that we learn to accumulate a set of facts, evaluate them, and then reach a conclusion. But the mere process of reaching a conclusion is not enough; there are times when you must stand up for those conclusions. This was a lesson I learned at Emory, and now I know with certainty it is true.

A man must stand up and be counted on important issues. That takes courage. What I fear is that Americans today do not have enough of that kind of courage. We are led to believe that we must conform to the views of the masses. We have been lulled into a state of self-satisfaction with our lives, our opinions, and our actions. If we are to breathe new life into our nation, we need to shake ourselves out of our stupor. We need to speak out *now*, loud and clear for our principles. And we must not feel guilty when at times our opinions are not shared by everyone.

Physicians, perhaps more than other individuals, are vitally aware of this need. As individuals and as members of medical organizations we have been on the firing line for years, criticized for

our positions on many subjects, condemned for our actions in many areas. We know what it means to face the world as nonconformists.

Why are physicians and their medical organizations so often tagged as "nonconformists"? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the solid scientific training necessary to winning an M.D. degree. The scientist is a skeptic, reluctant to accept a thing on its face value, no matter how appealing it may be. He wants proof, scientifically evolved. We have all often heard the warning: "Don't believe everything you hear." Well, the scientist is more inclined to paraphrase it this way: "Don't believe *anything* you hear — until it has been proved."

Perhaps another part of the answer to why doctors are usually such rugged individualists is that each man who practices medicine, regardless of the fact that he has the resources of modern medicine and the whole medical team at his disposal, knows that in the last analysis it is he who must accept the burden of responsibility for each patient's care. This is a burden that carries with it the responsibility of preserving life and preventing death. It is a solitary burden and one he can share with no man. No wonder a doctor remains imbued with the spirit of the individual.

Let's take a look at what this individualism has meant to medicine. Medical progress since the turn of the century has been fantastic. People are living longer, are stronger and more productive, healthier than their forebears. We have made remarkable progress in reduction of communicable diseases, eradicating some entirely, bringing others under control. A typical case in point: an 84 person reduction in the cases of polio was achieved as a result of the use of polio vaccine in 1957. The focus of medical research today is centered on the degenerative diseases of cancer, heart disease, and similar afflictions. These too may one day fall by the wayside in medicine's march against disease. In fact, one medical man predicted just last month that the average American may be living until he is 105 before the next century dawns!

These have been the decades of the wonder drugs, of exciting new surgical and medical techniques never before dreamed of, and of the harnessing of the atom for therapeutic use rather than de-

structive purposes. Despite these remarkable achievements, the doctor as an individual and medical organizations collectively have come in for severe criticism. Just to prove my own belief in "speaking out" for one's views, I would like to set the record straight about some of these things.

The first thing I would like to discuss is the modern doctor and medical costs. "Whatever happened to the good old family doctor?" people ask nostalgically. Well, he's still as close as your telephone, but he has shaved off his beard, surrounded himself with wonderfully effective diagnostic and therapeutic equipment, and trained himself in all the techniques of modern medicine. He can treat you faster, more efficiently, and get you back on your feet in a shorter period of time. Picturesque and well-meaning though the old family doctor may have been, it is unlikely anybody would trade today's physician for him.

Personally, I feel that patients do miss the close relationship their families often had with the old family doctor. But it is medical progress itself that has cut loose these ties. People get well faster, they don't see their doctor as often. When they do, he treats them more speedily. He doesn't need to rely on hand-holding and hours of bedside ministrations as he did in the past.

Then why are physicians today often accused of being money-grabbing, cold-hearted individuals? Why have physicians lost some of the respect and admiration they formerly enjoyed? Two separate opinion studies conducted during the past four years reveal that people like their personal doctors, but they seem to be antagonistic to doctors in general.

A part of the answer probably is explained by the fact that today's patients are better informed and more sophisticated; much of the mystery has gone out of medicine. But my own belief is that the answer lies mainly in the psychology of sickness. Nobody wants to be sick and everybody resents having to seek a physician's help to get well. Above all, paying for unwanted medical service rancors.

Now this does not mean that the doctor is a bad fellow. Most of us choose medicine as a career because we have a real desire to serve our fellow men. We soon realize that to pursue our high-

minded goals we must charge a fair fee for services. If we make a good living, it is not because we are profiteering on the heartaches of our patients; it is because we work doubly hard to make them well again.

Frankly, doctors need not take a back seat to any other group when it comes to tallying the free work they do. The Philadelphia County Medical Society recently surveyed its own members and came up with an astonishing figure. The average Philadelphia doctor had treated a patient free of charge about 500 times during 1959. The dollar value of such service would total more than $6,000. I think that figure speaks for itself in demonstrating Philadelphia doctors' dedication to the health and welfare of the community. I know that I could duplicate those figures in medical societies all over the nation.

We charge fees that we feel are fair, and we take our colleagues to task when it appears they have overcharged their patients. Most medical societies today have active grievance committees to hear patients' complaints about fees or services and to settle them fairly and to the satisfaction of all concerned. These are not whitewashing agents for the medical profession. I can give you instances when a medical society itself took up the patient's side of the case, even employing legal counsel on behalf of the patient, when it was convinced the complaint was just. I know of few other groups in this country which take their self-disciplinary responsibilities as seriously as does the medical profession.

Currently the American Medical Association has established a Commission on the Cost of Medical Care. I have been given the responsibility of directing the work of this Commission, and within a few months we hope to discover ways not only to hold the line on medical costs in an inflationary era, but to cut them where possible.

For example, we physicians know that the American public spends millions of dollars a year on a vast number of ineffective over-the-counter drug products. We also know that many persons throw their money away on so-called "cures," food fads, "health literature," and many other forms of quackery. Because of this situation, the American Medical Association launched an educational program

this fall to guide the consumer in spending his health care dollars wisely. This program, which will use various communications media, is dedicated to promoting the highest quality health care at the lowest cost.

Next, I feel compelled to speak out in defense of the American Medical Association. AMA has been the organizational whipping boy of many elements over the past decades. It has been criticized for being against many programs and bills. It has been labelled reactionary and ultra-conservative. It has even been called "insensitive to health needs of the people."

Not one of these criticisms is valid. From its very beginning the AMA has ranked service to the public with service to the profession.

I, for one, feel Americans have been led down a semantic garden path to believe that being "liberal" is being *for* progress — but being "conservative" is being against it. Progress is not tied to either label. Traditionally, the American Medical Association and its physician members have held conservative viewpoints on what paths to follow to improve America's health and medical care. Holding onto what is best and using that as the basis for future improvement is not reactionary, it is just common sense. Only a fool burns down his house because he doesn't like the wallpaper.

When the AMA takes a position opposing some legislation in the medical field, it is not *against* better medicine, it is *for* preservation of the best patient care. The recent AMA opposition to Forand-type legislation is a perfect case in point.

This ill-conceived proposal would establish a system of medical care for persons over 65 years of age paid for out of social security funds. It does not approach the problem on the basis of need nor is the mechanism recommended feasible. It is amazing to me that anyone can think of the social security fund as if it were an inexhaustible source of money. It is not.

However, the real issue here is that Forand-type legislation would alter the nature of the social security program, paving the way for the evolution of a system of tax-paid health care for the entire population. AMA opposes any "foot in the door" for com-

pulsory government medicine. AMA also opposes systems that are unfeasible from a cost standpoint. The cost of a Forand-type bill would be $2 billion a year initially and would skyrocket in the future. Social security taxes already are scheduled to reach 9% of payroll in the years ahead. It would cut take-home pay even more. It could weaken and eventually destroy the whole social security program. And it would certainly undermine and cause the collapse of all voluntary health insurance programs.

But most important, it would result in poorer, not better medical care for older people. They need individual attention, not a cold, impersonal program dictated by Washington. That is just the kind of arrangement medicine is certain can be assured under the new Public Law 86-778 just passed by Congress. This law provides for $480 million additional federal funds a year to be made available to states for the purpose of improving their medical care programs for older people on public assistance rolls. This bill also gives states help in paying the medical bills of the near-needy — the low income individuals who are not on Old Age Assistance rolls but need help in meeting medical expenses. In both instances, the biggest matching share of funds goes to states with lowest per capita income.

This bill helps those who need help and it retains local administration of medical care programs. AMA is working vigorously to make this program work. In addition, medicine is working hard to meet its responsibilities to the aged. Physicians know that the majority of older people today are well, and that one of the most pressing needs among this senior citizen group is the continued opportunity to use their health and capabilities to the fullest. The AMA is exerting great effort to stimulate a realistic attitude toward aging among employers who refuse to hire workers beyond a certain age and who arbitrarily retire persons at a selected chronological age, whether they are still willing and able to work or not. Certainly we should help the needy aged, but let's give our senior citizens an opportunity to help themselves first. Most of them want this opportunity.

While we're on the subject of legislation, I'd like to list just a few of the bills that the AMA has been "for" in the past few months:

1. AMA backed a bill to establish more strict labelling laws for hazardous substances used in home and industry. This law was enacted.
2. AMA backed a bill providing Federal employees with health insurance. This bill became law.
3. AMA supported a bill which authorized the Civil Service Commission to establish a voluntary contributory health insurance program for Federal employees who retired prior to July 1, 1960. This bill was enacted.
4. AMA supported the provision of the Omnibus Housing bill which authorized government guaranteed loans for the construction of proprietary nursing homes. A third version of this proposal passed both houses and was signed into law by President Eisenhower.
5. The AMA vigorously endorsed a bill to authorize full deduction for medical expenses incurred by dependent parents of the taxpayer if the parents are 65 years or older. This law was passed and will ease the impact of medical bills for those taxpayers who are assuming their obligation for aged dependent parents.

The American Medical Association works diligently to push passage of bills introduced into Congress which would provide the proper solution to a particular health problem. AMA believes it is a positive function to lobby on behalf of sound medical bills and to speak up when legislation is proposed which would lower the quality of American medical care or be incompatible with the free enterprise system which has brought us such medical rewards to date.

Another point that needs clarification is the oft-heard statement that the medical profession limits the number of doctors and that the AMA is the "union" set up to accomplish this end. Nothing could be further from the truth. Let me set the record straight by listing some of AMA's efforts to step up the number of physicians graduated each year to keep pace with America's population explosion.

One of the prime reasons AMA was established in 1849 was to improve medical education. Early in this century AMA's Council on Medical Education undertook a vast investigation of existing medical schools, then developed a set of standards considered essential for a good medical education. Via its medical school ap-

proval program these standards became a reality, and a number of diploma mill schools went out of business. Today every medical school is accredited by AMA, and the Association's efforts now include evaluation of internship and residency training programs.

AMA has taken the leadership in supporting national legislation on a one-time grant-in-aid basis to medical schools to promote construction and research. These grants are designed to expand existing schools and to build new ones. In December 1960 an AMA special committee will report its recommendations to AMA's House of Delegates for developing an AMA-sponsored and administered scholarship and loan fund for medical students. This national scholarship program will supplement similar programs already being operated by many state medical societies.

An all-out nationwide recruitment program to attract outstanding students into medicine is now in progress. AMA is working with all high schools and colleges in the nation in this recruitment effort.

Since 1943 ten new four-year medical schools have opened their doors and today several more are on the drawing boards. AMA's only concern in regard to expanding class enrollments or building new schools is that each school retain the same high standards of training existing today. This precaution is taken for the sake of tomorrow's patients, to assure that America's doctors will continue to be the best-trained in the world. If you want tangible evidence of physicians' own personal stake in expanding medical schools, then look to the record of the American Medical Education Foundation, set up by AMA just ten years ago. AMEF solicits voluntary contributions from physicians to channel to medical schools "with no strings attached" amounting to over one million dollars each year.

Indeed rather than trying to limit the supply of physicians, America's practicing MDs are digging into their own pockets to increase the number of graduates each year!

Through their professional organization, the American Medical Association, approximately 180,000 physicians serve Americans in a thousand unseen ways each day. The health and medical care of

Americans is AMA's major concern. Its first responsibility is to its doctor members. Every possible medium is used to convey new information on drugs, devices, and medical discoveries to the physician so that he can keep abreast of medical developments. AMA's two huge postgraduate scientific meetings feature hundreds of scientific papers and lectures, scientific exhibits, industrial exhibits pertaining to medical practice, scientific films, closed circuit television presentations, and special symposia. AMA's publications, ranging from the weekly *Journal* of the AMA and monthly special journals to its biweekly non-scientific newspaper for physicians, all transmit the latest information on medicine. Over the years AMA has become the center of information on scientific medicine, with medical progress as its byword.

Today the spectrum of sciences which play an important rôle in medicine and health is increasingly wide. AMA plays an important backstage rôle in the daily lives of everyone. Let me mention just a few of AMA's countless programs benefitting the public:

AMA checks the safety and effectiveness of many new drugs and medical tools.

AMA studies new food products and dietary supplements such as vitamins to determine their nutritional value in maintaining health.

AMA wages an all-out battle against medical quackery of all types.

AMA encourages the development of voluntary health insurance programs to help cover medical expenses of all kinds.

AMA studies the problems of alcoholism, narcotics addiction, mental health, and rehabilitation with an eye toward solutions for many of the problems involved.

AMA takes a vital interest in rural and industrial health problems, preventive and military medicine.

AMA works to assure highest hospital standards, participating in the efforts of the Joint Council on Hospital Accreditation. Recently, AMA developed a set of standards for nursing homes to assure safe care for patients.

AMA is working to reduce maternal and neonatal deaths, and in 1961 will embark on a child survival campaign to reduce accidental deaths among youngsters and to make birth and child-

hood a safer, more hazard-free period.

AMA carries on continuous health educational activities for the public, utilizing its monthly magazine for the public, *Today's Health,* radio, television, films, exhibits, and literature in this effort.

To describe in detail or even touch lightly upon the hundreds of activities carried on by AMA and its members would require volumes. From the few projects I have outlined you can see that AMA is both a servant of its physician members and a guardian of the public health. From my own close association with America's major medical organization, I can assure you that its programs and policies must be constantly changing to reflect the times and the needs of physicians and the public. The goal, however, remains constant — the best medicine and health for America.

In my inaugural address to the members of the American Medical Association in June 1959 I outlined my own creed, and because to me these principles are vital not just to American medicine but to America, I would like to set them forth here:

I believe that medical progress through the years has been inspired by a particular type of men: those who learn from the past, but face boldly up to the future; who work at the day's task, but work and dream also for tomorrow's progress.

These are the men who blaze the trail for humanity.

But they must breathe the air of freedom; and they flourish best in those times and places where all men respect knowledge, value personal initiative, and applaud quality.

I believe that the basic element of progress is not compulsion, but voluntary coöperation; not force but reason; not blind obedience but independent intelligence; not timidity but faith — faith in man, faith in ourselves, faith in God.

It is upon these beliefs that I have based my life, and that the American Medical Association has based its actions and its policies. It is because these beliefs are so important to medicine but, above all, to America that I feel compelled to speak out. And I sincerely hope that you, too, will speak out strongly for the things that you believe.

John Fletcher, First Theologian of Methodism

By CLAUDE H. THOMPSON

The year 1960 is the bicentennial of John Fletcher's induction into the post of vicar of Madeley, in Shropshire, which he was to hold for the last twenty-five years of his life. Dr. Thompson, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Candler School of Theology, on his last visit to England made a pilgrimage to Madeley to view the scene of Fletcher's devoted labors.

THE ROOTS OF METHODISM reach beyond the soil of England. One is in Germany, where Lutheranism was mediated to the Wesleys largely through the Moravians. But one also reaches into Calvinism. In spite of John Wesley's basic disagreements with some of the tenets of Genevan religion, he had to admit that he himself came "within a hair's breadth of Calvinism." One connection of Methodism and Calvinism was in the person of John Fletcher, who had been trained in the same sort of intellectual discipline which John Calvin knew two centuries earlier. If the city of Geneva gave Calvin to Protestantism in the sixteenth century, the same city gave Fletcher to Methodism in the eighteenth.

HERITAGE

John Fletcher is the Anglicized form of Jean Guillaume de la Fletchere. He was descended from a prominent Swiss family, his birthplace being the village of Nyons, about fifteen miles from Geneva. John was the youngest son. He was born September 12, 1729, a few weeks before John Wesley was recalled from serving as his father's curate at Wroote to return as tutor at Lincoln College, Oxford.

After his early education at home Fletcher went to the university in Geneva, where he spent seven years in the study of Latin, German, French, Greek, Hebrew, and mathematics. He received honors both in philosophy and divinity. Some accounts tell of arduous toil with little time for relaxation. Yet there are records of more

strenuous pursuits. Once in swimming he was carried by the torrent under an old mill. Those who saw the accident thought he was killed, but he emerged little worse for the experience. One gentleman present reported that he timed by his watch the period of submersion — to find it exactly twenty minutes! On another occasion Fletcher and one of his brothers were fencing with real swords with buttons on the tips when the wooden button on his brother's sword broke and the sword was thrust through John's stomach nearly killing him.

As a lad he felt the movings of the Spirit of God, and as early as seven years of age he was drawn to the service of the church. His later education was directed toward this end. However, two things caused him to change his plans: a sense of personal unfitness, and the requirement to subscribe to the doctrine of predestination.

An incident happened when Fletcher was about fourteen which indicates the religious bent of the lad. While living at his sister's home in Geneva, a widow from Nyon, Mme. de Botens, visited them with her three sons. The sons quarreled and the mother in irritation pronounced a judgment upon them. Fletcher was shocked; he quietly warned her against provoking her children to wrath. He urged her to struggle against her hasty temper and encourage her sons in the fear of God lest a calamity come to them. Soon two of them were drowned in the lake and the third crushed to death in the city gate. Mme. de Botens was deeply moved by the memory of the words of the "young prophet," as she called Fletcher.

The early religious impressions did not produce immediate fruit. John Fletcher entered a period of spiritual conflict, characteristic of the twice-born. Before he came to conversion his pilgrimage took him into some strange ways. While a student at the university, he responded to a tradition in the family to enter military service. His father had been a colonel in the militia of Switzerland as well as an officer in the French army. At the time, Portugal was sending troops to Brazil to protect her interests there. Fletcher went to Lisbon and organized a company of Swiss soldiers. Now a soldier of fortune, he wrote his parents for money which he intended to invest in South America. Waiting for it to arrive, at breakfast a

servant spilled boiling water on his leg and he was helpless in bed when the ship sailed. Neither ship, crew, nor soldiers were ever heard from again.

Tutor at Tern Hall

A crisis in Fletcher's life came about 1750, when he, with other young men, went to England. In London, with little knowledge of English, they were unable to exchange their Swiss money for sterling. Fletcher overheard a well-dressed Jew speaking French and explained his predicament to him. The Jew said: "Give me your money and I will get it changed." Fletcher turned over his entire resources and the Jew disappeared! But soon he returned with the total amount in English money.

Not long after he began to study English he was recommended by a French minister as tutor to the two sons of Thomas Hill, member of the House of Lords from Shropshire. Fletcher lived at Tern Hall, the Hill estate near Shrewsbury, and also stayed with the Hills while they were in London.

Apparently it was on one of the trips to London that Fletcher met the Methodists. The party stopped at St. Albans, where Fletcher took a walk. When he returned, the others had gone after leaving a horse for him. When he overtook them, Mr. Hill asked why he had remained behind. Fletcher said: "As I was walking, I met with a poor old woman who talked so sweetly of Jesus Christ that I know not how the time passed away." Mrs. Hill said: "I shall wonder if our tutor does not turn Methodist by-and-by." "Methodist, Madam! Pray what is that?" asked Fletcher. She replied: "Why, the Methodists are a people that do nothing but pray; they are praying all day and all night." "Are they," he said, "then by the help of God I will find them out if they be above ground."

It is not certain when Fletcher became a part of the Methodist movement, but there is a letter from him to a Mr. Richard Edwards, the leader of the class in London where Fletcher was a member. He reports his conversion as having come about 1755, when he was twenty-nine years old.

Fletcher's religious life was marked by asceticism, disciplined piety, faithful observance of the means of grace, and a constant witness to others to encourage them to turn to Christ. He prepared a rigid set of rules to observe and apparently signed it in his own blood. He also wrote a list of practices which he sought to follow:

Pray on my knees as often as possible.
Sing freqently penitential hymns.
Eat slowly, and upon my knees, three times a day only, and never more.
Always speak gently.
Neglect no outward duty.
Beware of a fire that thou kindlest thyself.
Think always of death, and the Cross, the hardness of thy heart and the blood of Christ.
Beware of relaxing, and of impatience; God is faithful, but He owes thee nothing.
Speak only when necessary.
Do not surrender thyself to any joy.
Rise in the morning without yielding to sloth.
Follow always thy first notion.
Be a true son of affliction.
Write down every evening whether thou hast kept these rules.

In spite of this relation to the Methodists, while residing at Tern Hall he attended the parish church at Atcham. Something of his humble spirit was seen when he joined a class of children in their catechetical studies. Often he walked beside the river, read his Bible, and engaged in solemn prayer.

Village Vicar

In 1756 Fletcher indicated to Wesley his interest in holy orders. Mr. Hill had kept urging him to enter the ministry. What direction Wesley gave we do not know, but Fletcher was ordained deacon in March 1757 and later as priest. It is interesting that on the day of his ordination he assisted Mr. Wesley in the administration of the Holy Sacrament. His biographer says: "Thus did Fletcher begin his remarkable ministerial life in a Methodist meeting-house." But his first sermon *in a church* was preached in the

Atcham parish church. The text: "Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity against God?" It is reported that the worshippers were shocked! One said: "The congregation stood amazed, and gazed upon him as if he had been a monster; but to me he appeared as a messenger sent from heaven."

Fletcher was licensed to "perform the office of curate in the parish church of Madeley, in the county of Salop." (Salop is the ancient name of the county of Shropshire.) Madeley is about ten miles from Tern Hall. Three years later, in 1760, he was inducted into the office of vicar of Madeley, a post which he held until his death twenty-five years later. Wesley opposed this appointment, probably because he wanted Fletcher to travel with him. But Fletcher was not destined for the itineracy; he was a parish priest.

Madeley parish was not an idyllic English community where everybody was busy practicing godliness. Fletcher wrote: "There are three meetings in my parish, a Papist, a Quaker, and Baptist; and they begin to call the fourth the Methodist — I mean the Church. But the bulk of the inhabitants are stupid heathens, who seem past all curiosity, as well as all sense of godliness." The coal mining and ironworking community was famous for drinking, swearing was normal in conversation, bull-baiting one of the chief sports, and lewd dancing — often all night — regularly practiced. Nor was a single clergyman in sympathy with Fletcher's Methodist views. He had no parish experience. People bitterly opposed him, and he was sorely tempted to quit. But he was sustained by the urgency to proclaim the Gospel.

Fletcher's saintly character emerged as he ministered in the parish. He was able to adapt himself to all sorts of people. The children especially loved him. He persisted, like the "hound of heaven" to pursue the sinners. When they complained that they could not awaken in time for Sabbath services, he took a bell in hand and rang it through the streets at five o'clock in the morning! He would not always preach his own sermons but would read homilies from other church leaders. He did not write out his sermons completely but made careful outlines. It was my privilege to

thumb through some of these unpublished sermon notes on a recent visit to the vicarage. I confess I held them with a shaky hand and quickened heart.

For six years of his ministry at Madeley, Fletcher faced almost constant hostility. He was even threatened with being unfrocked. The archdeacon, a Mr. Prothero, preached at Madeley. He attacked the doctrines of Methodism, especially warning against the dangers of enthusiasm. After the sermon Fletcher was greeted triumphantly by another clergyman, with the obvious intention of embarrassing the young vicar before his people. Fletcher wrote a "long letter" in reply, pointing out that the Archdeacon actually proclaimed that good works, human virtues, and morality constitute the way to salvation; hence the sermon was "not consistent with the teaching of the Bible, with the Liturgy, articles, and homilies of the English Church." The letter was published as a *Defence of Experimental Religion,* one of the first of Fletcher's theological writings.

There is not time to discuss in detail his marriage. Upon his return from Switzerland, at the age of fifty-two, he and Miss Mary Bosanquet, a remarkable woman ten years his junior, were married. He reminds us that he had felt for twenty-five years that if he ever married, she would have been the lady. She was wealthy, and he claimed he had little taste for married life. But she was a worthy bride, serving with devotion both her husband and the church, actually directing the spiritual affairs of the parish for thirty years after Fletcher's death.

Fletcher had a remarkable sense of rapport with his people. He lived such a sustained life of prayer that he seemed to know how God felt about people in the parish. One of the most remarkable incidents came in 1763. He tells how he went into the pulpit to preach but completely forgot the text as well as the sermon. He felt tempted to close the service, but then spoke from one of the lessons for the day, the story of the Hebrew children in the fiery furnace. He had great "liberty, a peculiar enlargement of heart," until he felt constrained to suggest there must be some reason for it. He asked the people to report any reason for the strange phe-

nomenon. Wednesday of the following week a woman from Madeley Wood told the story. Her husband objected to her attending the services. On the Sabbath of the "fiery furnace" sermon he had told her he would burn her in the large oven if she went to church. She went nevertheless. Upon her return home she saw smoke pouring from the chimney, but when she entered, expecting her husband to kill her, he was upon his knees under conviction for sin. He became a loyal member of the church.

Fletcher lived with monkish severity, spending long hours in prayer and self-denial. In Madeley there was a boarding school for girls. He visited the school one morning just as the girls sat down for breakfast. He waited for an hour until they finished and then invited them to visit him the next day at breakfast. At seven a.m. they arrived and found a bowl of milk and some bits of bread. Fletcher took out his watch, laid it on the table, and asked them to tell him how long it took him to eat. It was just one minute and a half! He then told them they had fifty-eight minutes of the hour left to discuss the meaning of time, the significance of life, and the opportunities God had given for salvation.

In spite of such experiences, Fletcher was quite human. While looking over some of his own notes in the vicarage, I read one concerning a request to conduct a funeral. He refused, saying he had a toothache and did not want to leave the house!

Of course, social customs were quite different in his time from those of our day. For example, as he was engaged in building the chapel for the Methodists in Madeley Wood, he tells of the purchase of beer for the workmen. He wrote a thank-you note to a friend who had sent him a cask of wine and sufficient cloth to make a suit. Fletcher could never resist the urge to preach. Thus he appealed to his benefactor to labor for the Lord:

> It will be your meat and drink to do it; and, that you may be vigorous in doing it, as I shall take a little of your wine for my stomach's sake, take you a good deal of the wine of the kingdom for your soul's sake. Every promise of the Gospel is a bottle, a cask that has a spring within, and can never be exhausted. Draw the cork of unbelief, and drink abundantly.

> Be not afraid of intoxication; and if an inflammation follows, it will only be that of Divine love. Be more free with the heavenly wine, than I have been with the earthly, which you sent me. I have not tasted it yet, but whose fault is it? Not yours certainly, but mine. If you do not drink daily out of the cup of salvation, whose fault is it? Not Jesus's but yours.

Theologian of Methodism

John Fletcher might have lived out his days merely as a parish priest in Britain had his relation to Methodism been different. But destiny had it otherwise. Lady Huntington, a wealthy Methodist of the Calvinistic persuasion, established a college at Trevecca in Wales. She had chapels in various places, but was finding difficulty in securing chaplains. The Countess provided total support for young men and, upon completion of their studies, they could go into the Established Church or serve as clergymen for her. She asked Fletcher to be President of Trevecca, in spite of his Arminian outlook. He accepted in 1768, serving *in absentia,* since he would not leave Madeley.

Trouble began in 1770. The Methodist conference of that year spoke very strongly against Calvinism. Lady Huntington and her followers were shocked. A Mr. Shirley sent a circular letter to all ministers, Wesleyan and Anglican, calling them to assemble at Bristol in 1771 "and to oblige them [the Methodists] to revoke the dreadful heresies contained in those minutes." Lady Huntington herself attacked the minutes of the conference as "horrible and abominable" and said whoever "did not fully disavow them should quit the college." Joseph Benson, the tutor in Bible, also an Arminian Methodist, was discharged. Fletcher said: "After such a declaration I could no longer stay as an honest man. Last Friday I left them in peace, the servant, but no more the President of the College."

It was this issue which thrust Fletcher into the most definitive rôle he played in the Wesleyan movement. He was made a theologian. The circular letter brought forth from him the first of his famous *Checks to Antinomianism,* dated July 29, 1771. For the next four or five years he published these *Checks,* at least five of

them in the form of controversial correspondence with several of the Calvinistic advocates. Actually they constitute the first attempt to formulate a system of doctrine for Methodism. And they were hammered out in the heat of controversy, not unlike the encounter of the early church with paganism, with this difference: now it was done within the family of God. This original Methodist theology was not an armchair variety; it was an issue of life and death for the movement. The integrity of God was at stake, *i.e.*, whether God could be understood as respecting the conferred dignity of man in his freedom or whether he was to be manipulated for divine purposes.

During these controversial years many heated words were written and spoken. Fletcher wrote little else; even his normally extensive corespondence was curtailed. It should be noted that even when he wrote pointedly, at times belligerently, his spirit was tender and Christlike. He seemed to combine a devastating power to attack perverted ideas with a fairness and understanding of those who held them.

The *Checks* established Fletcher as the theologian of Methodism. If today the questions involved have shifted to other issues, then the lines were sharply drawn: Calvinism and Arminianism stood face to face in Methodism. An interesting historical note reminds us that Jacob Arminius was born just two hundred years before Fletcher became vicar of Madeley. And while there has always been a Calvinistic element within the Wesleyan family, Fletcher made it crystal-clear that the genius of Methodism did not lie in that direction. And though the issue at times has been raised in subsequent years, as, for example, in the excellent study of Wesley by the late Professor George Croft Cell of Boston University, and while today some Methodist scholars tend more toward Genevan religion than Wesley would have done, still Methodism when true to the principles which gave it birth, is definitely Arminian.

But Fletcher was more than a theologian. When Mr. Wesley published his *Calm Address to the American Colonies,* a strangely misnamed document, Fletcher published a defense of it. Both men

seemed a bit confused politically. A copy of this defense got into the hands of the King, who immediately wanted to know if any preferment in the Church would be acceptable to Fletcher, or whether he, the King, could do Fletcher any service. The Vicar replied: "I want nothing but more grace." Obviously this was beyond the power of an earthly king to provide.

From what we have said Fletcher's theological outlook may be surmised. As to man's moral predicament, Methodism stood in contrast to Deism. The idea of man's "lost estate" was regarded as the first link in the theological chain which drew all other parts after it. Fletcher speaks of the soul of man as "disordered," a term not without significance in our psychologically oriented culture. He likewise described the grace of God as providing "initial salvation" for all men. There is a measure of righteousness in all men by virtue of God's irresistible love, which provides a thousand spiritual and temporal blessings plus the intelligent opportunity to yield to divine mercy. He held the traditional orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ, yet even here he implies that the experience of the Living, Risen Lord is more important than precision of theological statement.

John Fletcher stood with Wesley in emphasizing the doctrine of Christian perfection. But in distinction from Wesley, Fletcher bore a simple, humble witness to the experience and life. He repeatedly urged people to "look for it then every day, every hour, every moment. Why not this hour, this moment? Certainly you may look for it now, if you believe it is by faith."

The theology which Fletcher preached was clearly the sort which had to be preached. It was dogma which came alive in the pulpit. If Wesley may be regarded as an Anglican in a Methodist pulpit, Fletcher may be regarded as a Methodist in an Anglican pulpit. Indeed, he was appointed by Wesley to act as his "assistant" and was so designated in the Wesleyan minutes. In fact, Fletcher organized several Wesley circuits and regularly preached in the chapels. He and his wife built and gave at least one such chapel to the Methodists, property still used by them. It is known that Wesley wanted Fletcher to be his successor, but providence intervened

and Wesley outlived the sainted Vicar.

The relation of the Wesleyans to the Church of England is seen in several incidents in the life of Fletcher. For example, he refers, in one of his letters to Charles Wesley in the 1750's, to "the Methodist church." Possibly this is the first use of the term. Also, at the conference of 1775 Fletcher wrote a long document to Wesley discussing the relation of the societies to the Church of England. He saw the need for the sacraments in the societies, and urged that the bishops be petitioned to ordain those Methodist ministers who were qualified to pass the canonical examinations. In turn there were to be mutually-agreed-upon procedures between the two groups to provide for the spiritual nourishment of the people. Yet Fletcher seems to have favored presbyterial ordination, a view held by Wesley for nearly thirty years prior to this conference.

There is one item in Fletcher's relation to Wesley which is a bit difficult to explain: The conference of 1784, only a year before Fletcher's death, was crucial in Methodism. Wesley had proposed his "Deed of Declaration" to assure the continuance of the societies — the device being the "legal hundred," names selected from among the total number of ministers. But there was hostility, some scholars call it rebellion, among the clergy; some had to be omitted. Fletcher acted not only as moderator but as mediator, pleading for Christian brotherhood and forbearance. His spirit did much to avert a serious breach. But the interesting item is that Fletcher's name was not among the hundred! It was possibly because he did not desire to be named, or it may have been due to his persistent ill-health. Still it is strange.

Fletcher — Past and Present

There is an interesting sequel to the Trevecca incident. The college was moved in 1792 from Wales to Cheshunt, near London, and the name changed to Cheshunt College. Again in 1905 it was moved to Cambridge University, where it remains as a theological college for the training of ministers. It today belongs to the Congregational Union, and students are also admitted as candidates for

other professions than the ministry. In 1945, A. Victor Murray, a Methodist layman, was made president! Time does heal many things. But I confess it did seem a bit strange to see hanging on the wall a portrait of the man who was so theologically opposed to Calvinism that he resigned from the presidency of a school which now honors him as one of its illustrious leaders.

As for Madeley, it is still a quiet parish with the roughness and crudity of the ironmaking and collier days well in the past. The parish church contains numerous items from the Fletcher era, and the memory of a sainted leader seems to pervade the community. The present vicar, the Reverend Mr. Lord, maintains a full round of ministries and manages to engage in Fletcher research. He welcomes the pilgrimages of Methodists, who have a growing interest in this the first theologian of their movement.

It is interesting that the only biography which John Wesley wrote was that of John Fletcher. He said: "I was intimately acquainted with him for above thirty years. I conversed with him morning, noon, and night, without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles. And, in all that time, I never heard him speak one improper word, nor saw him do an improper action. . . . Many exemplary men I have known, holy in heart and life, within fourscore years. But one equal to him I have not known: one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So unblamable a character in every respect, I have not found either in Europe or America. And I scarce expect to find another such, on this side eternity."

Even Voltaire, it is reported, when asked to portray the perfect life, immediately referred to Fletcher of Madeley.

By all tests John Fletcher has earned the right to be regarded, not simply as the first theologian of Methodism, but what is an even greater designation, "the sainted Fletcher of Madeley."

EDITORIAL

A large number of colleges and universities throughout the country have found it necessary in recent years to announce successive raises in tuition fees. No one has been happy about it. Many parents are finding the burden of higher education a heavy one, while the added revenue derived from increased charges has seldom if ever enabled the educational institution to do more than fight a delaying action against an aggressive economy. Privately endowed institutions, who must be prepared to live, or at least plan to live, on diminishing returns from relatively static investments, yet encounter steadily rising prices for all goods and services that they must purchase in the open market, are in a difficult situation.

Higher education is an economic anomaly. It is America's biggest business, yet it violates the first principle of American big business by carrying on year after year with deficit financing. Every student enrolled represents a financial loss. A falling off of enrollment may be disastrous, but an enrollment that rises above a certain point, hard to fix, may be almost equally disastrous. The entire academic establishment is in continual flux. The physical plant, the personnel, its basic operations, undergo a rapidity of change unknown in any other business. And the cost, if it could be figured, is astounding.

Let it be said at once that there are slight grounds for accusing college and university managers of ineptness in conducting their business. Many of the best business brains in the United States are to be found on college campuses. It is simply in the nature of the undertaking that its books are infrequently in balance, that, to the amazement of prudent souls, when the books show signs of coming into balance, ways are quickly devised of getting them off balance again.

This is only to point out that American higher education in our

time is alive to the varied and pressing needs of the time. Its energies are solely devoted to meeting their needs, and it is tireless in developing resources to serve the rising generation, who must be prepared to face contingencies never before envisaged. Admitted that the cost is high, it is nevertheless inconceivable that in the complexities and uncertainties of the modern world patrons of higher education would settle for anything less than it now offers.

Privately endowed colleges and universities have responded to the challenges of the day nothing less than magnificently. They have not stinted their means to meet the obligation they have recognized. Yet while will and capacity for service are virtually unlimited, they now experience a financial stringency that will inevitably limit their future usefulness if their sore need is not realized and relieved. It is not by raising charges for tuition that a crisis can be averted. Nor are there practicable economies that will result in any considerable savings. What must be forthcoming are capital sums for endowment, together with smaller but constant donations in a program of annual giving on the part of alumni and friends.

Higher education is so firmly interwoven in the fabric of the American way of life that the design must not be altered. The tradition of privately endowed colleges reaches back to colonial times. They set the pattern, and wonderful as has been the growth of state-supported systems, their usefulness has remained unimpaired. Perhaps they have never been more influential than now. But if they are not to decline into final ineffectuality, they must find new friends, and old friends must renew the generosity of past years. If they are to fulfill the promise of past performance and present capability, they must be aided by unreluctant and bountiful patrons — individuals, corporations, and foundations. The need is great and the need is now.

T.H.E.

Lyman Hall, Georgia Patriot

A Review by JUDSON C. WARD JR.

Dr. Judson C. Ward, Jr., although his time and energies are largely devoted to administrative duties, continues to teach his popular course in Georgia history in the A.A.T.E.S. program. James W. Hall, B.S. in Bus. Ad. (North Carolina) '51, LL.B. '53, is a practicing attorney-at-law in Valdosta, Georgia.

This book will be a disappointment to readers who expect a definitive biography of Lyman Hall.[1] It contains little new information about Hall or the times in which he lived. Nevertheless, this little volume serves a useful purpose in bringing together information about the career of one of Georgia's early builders.

Lyman Hall was one of that small company of patriots who provided leadership for Georgia during the turbulent years of transition from colony to state. A native of Connecticut, he was educated at Yale. After a brief career as a Congregational minister, he apprenticed himself to a physician and began the practice of medicine. During the year 1757, at the age of thirty-three, Dr. Hall moved south with his bride to join a group of Puritans who had settled at Dorchester on the Ashley River in South Carolina. He soon moved with them, however, to Midway near the coast between Savannah and Darien. Here Dr. Hall practiced medicine and supervised his rice plantation, which shared in the general prosperity of the trade out of the port of Sunbury.

This Puritan community was the cradle of the Revolution in Georgia, and Hall became one of its early leaders. He went to Philadelphia as a delegate to the Continental Congress and was one of the three Georgians who signed the Declaration of Independence. He continued to represent Georgia throughout the war. On his return to Georgia, he was elected Governor and served during 1783-84, the first year following the departure of the British. His term was marked by many perplexing problems of readjustment. Hall provided firm leadership and showed statesmanlike foresight in advocating that land be set aside for education, thus foreshadowing the establishment of the University of Georgia. The author's chapters on Hall's gubernatorial career are perhaps his most important contribution. In 1790 Hall moved to Burke County, where he died later in the same year.

The author is an amateur who became interested in Hall while on a genealogical search. He is to be commended for pursuing his interest to the point of publication. If other amateurs would push their interests as effectively, more of the shadowy figures of the early history of Georgia might be better known. At least the groundwork would be laid for more definitive studies.

[1] *Lyman Hall, Georgia Patriot.* By James W. Hall. Savannah, The Pigeonhole Press, 1959, xii, 113 pp. $4.00.

Golf Is My Game

A Review by THOMAS E. McDONOUGH, SR.

Thomas E. McDonough, Sr., B.S. (Peabody) '27, M.A. (Peabody) '28, since 1942 Director of the Division and Professor of Physical Education, was the organizer of Emory's present program of intra-mural sports. Robert Tyre Jones, Jr., B.S. in M.E. (Georgia School of Technology) '22, B.S. (Harvard) '24, studied in the Lamar School of Law 1926-27. He holds a unique place in the annals of sport by having won in 1930 both the American and British Open and Amateur Championships in golf.

Golf Is My Game, is a book sure to score as one of the best in present-day sports literature. Robert Tyre (Bobby) Jones is not only a master golfer but a master teacher, who has shown a unique ken for imparting the game of golf to others.[1] He is a technician and an analyst who does not accept "the notion that golf is a difficult game to teach and a difficult game to learn." His background as a trained engineer is reflected time and again in his descriptions of the various ways of striking a ball and his terse description of the golf ball in flight. He frequently imparts, too, some of the techniques he learned and acquired from the golfing greats of his time. The brief biographical references in regard to his playing companions is best stated in his own words: "I think I have never played a tournament round from which I did not come with a feeling of warmth and heightened regard for my opponent or playing companion."

The narration describing the championships and the "Grand Slam" in 1930 reads like an exciting novel. He not only relates the decisive action in the four tournaments but gives a running account of the innermost thoughts that would occur to an athlete under varying degrees of pressure. His explanation of his own success in competition is that "a large factor in my winning was a greater resourcefulness in coping with unusual situations and in recovering from and retrieving mistakes." The completion of this unique athletic achievement, the "Grand Slam," also provokes this statement from the author: "For me, that year [1930] marked the culmination of my golfing experience and into it went all the knowledge, skill, resourcefulness and character I had gained in the first 28 years of my life."

The story of how the Augusta golf course and Masters Tournament were conceived and planned should be of interest to all golfers. Bobby Jones's own graphic description of "Playing the Masters Course" gives "an appreciation of the playing features and characteristics of the golf course."

The book is well-illustrated, including many pictures of the author at various ages in his rise to fame. It includes diagrams of the eighteen-hole golf course at Augusta. The many photographs of friends, counsellors, great players of the past four decades, make the book one to be treasured by golfers young and old.

[1] *Golf Is My Game.* By Robert Tyre (Bobby) Jones, Jr. Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Company, 1960. 255 pp. $4.50.

Christianity in the Middle Ages

Dean Cannon's work in progress and near completion is an account of the journeys of Paul, based on his own extensive travels, in the course of which he has visited all the places associated with the Apostle in the New Testament narrative.

Beyond question the basic study of a minister of the Christian Church is the reading and right interpretation of the Scriptures. The religion he professes is a religion of the present, living and working in the world of today. It is his task to show its relevance to contemporary problems of life and thought. A religion shackled to the tradition of an age long past runs the risk of stumbling to senescence and death.

Nevertheless, a sound acquaintance with the long history of Christianity, from its foundations in Judaism, and from the ministry of the Founder and the labors of the apostles and the fathers, through the confusions of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, to the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation, and on to the modern situation, would seem to be an indispensable preparative for the presentation of a body of universal truth, meaningful to all types and conditions of men.

It is to be feared that ministers of the Protestant churches in America at least have not been zealous in historical studies. It is likely that few of them have continued their reading much beyond that required by the course in church history offered in the seminary. And it must be admitted that scholars have not been greatly concerned to provide books attractive to the man who has passed his formal theological training, and is caught in a net of administrative duties to which all but the composition of sermons must be subordinated.

Particularly the Middle Ages, the long period of the domination of the Catholic Church, must seem far out of the perspective of the typical Protestant clergyman. Scholars have addressed their colleagues in specialized monographs and multi-volume histories, but they have done little for the common reader. The present volume, by the Dean of the Candler School of Theology, is an attempt to give an account, popular in the best sense, of the mediaeval church from the fall of Rome in A.D. 476 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[1]

It was not easy to narrate this thousand years of zeal and ambition, of striving and strife, of devotion and bigotry in just over three hundred pages. The scene embraces Europe, the Near East, and North Africa. The imperial theme is dominant, with the Roman Empires of West and East, the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, the Patriarchate, and Islam. Kings and warriors, scholars and saints, princely prelates, poor preachers, and wild fanatics crowd the stage. All the winds of doctrine whirl the dust of these years, and between the hair-splitting of the doctors and the fantasies of the heresiarchs it is hard to keep one's mind on the creed that endured. It is an exciting even though disturbing story, but it is well to remember that except for some few eras of apathy and relapse the history of Christianity has always been both exciting and disturbing.

[1] *History of Christianity in the Middle Ages. From the Fall of Rome to the Fall of Constantinople.* By William Ragsdale Cannon. Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1960. 352 pp. $4.50.

A tremendous body of learning has been grappled with to bring this account into manageable compass. It has required much craftsmanship to force the recalcitrant materials into order. Dean Cannon has achieved a degree of consecutiveness in organization and simplicity in presentation that should secure for his book the readers to whom he has addressed it. He has neither sacrificed scholarship in their behalf, however, nor run into meretricious sensationalism. There will be some who will wish that he had pruned his text even more closely. There are probably too many insignificant names cited in the chapters, so taking emphasis from the figures that really matter; the lists in the appendix might be trusted to take care of the complete chronology. Perhaps a few brief sections, such as that describing the mystery plays, might have been dispensed with as somewhat irrelevant to the main exposition. The reviewer greatly doubts the value of the footnotes. Even though they do proclaim the *bona fides* of the author, they are unlikely to be of use to the reader, particularly since, with such exceptions as the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, the works cited will be inaccessible to most. A few of these references might have been transferred to the List of Sources and the pages of the text cleared of them.

All quibbling aside, Dean Cannon has written an authoritative and readable, and therefore useful book, which should commend itself to a wide audience, clerical and lay. He does not sermonize, but the grandeur of the theme is never more than momentarily obscured by the clouds of contention that gather and disperse throughout the millennium chronicled.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA

Library Needs

It has been often said that the University Libraries are the heart of the cultural life of the University. Even as a man's heart serves no isolated organ of his body but the body as a whole, the University Libraries, functioning as a unit, serve the University in its entirety, not some specific part or parts thereof. Nor do the University Libraries exist of and for themselves but as a vital yet independent unit of the University system.

The University Libraries are the unit of the University system which is closest to instruction and research. It is in the library, or with the aid of some library, that all independent student work and university research commences. Anything the University Libraries do to promote instruction and research is both primary and direct; accordingly, any assistance which benefactors of teaching and learning see fit to apply directly to the Libraries will be immediately beneficial and demonstrably productive.

There are many opportunities for gifts to the Libraries, and these are of sufficient variety and scope to fire the imagination of any individual, alumni group, friend, or foundation. Among these opportunities are the following:

Library for Advanced Studies: We believe that this would be the first university library in the South planned expressly for the purpose of meeting the needs of faculty and graduate students in all fields of research represented in the university. There are individuals and corporations in our region that would be able, and perhaps one that might want, to see a name perpetuated on an Emory University building.

Additions: We need, both in the Asa Griggs Candler Library and in Law, Business, and some of the other professional school libraries, more stack room in which to shelve books, more reading room in which to consult books, and more working space. Estimated costs of these improvements range from $25,000 to $100,000, depending upon the unit and the need to which they may be applied.

Book Endowments: There are many subject areas in which book endowments are urgently needed. To take one example, the field of Russian Studies, a new one at Emory, needs many books and funds to process the books. Any endowment which would provide annually $500 or more would do a great deal of good.

A statement prepared by
the Director of Libraries